

Appendix I Wordsworth's Use of the Words 'Peasant' and 'Peasantry' in his Poems, 1787–1850

See J. O. Hayden (ed.), *William Wordsworth: The Poems* (1977), Vol. 1. The word 'peasant' appears 22 times in this volume of Wordsworth's poems, from the years c.1787–c.1817. The poem 'Descriptive Sketches' (1793), however, is printed twice to show Wordsworth's stylistic improvements in the period 1793–1849/50; thus 3 of these examples are redundant. Of the 19 instances of the word peasant we find 3 of them in this early account of Swiss farmers and their ancient 'Republic'; 5 examples appear in the historical play *The Borderers* (1797; pub. 1842): here the word is used only to signify social rank in 'feudal' England, during the thirteenth century. Two similar examples are found in the historical poem called 'The White Doe of Rylstone' (1815), which relates the religious and social struggles of the English Reformation. Further instances are given in the poet's reflections upon the famous monastery at Chartreuse, in France, during the late eighteenth century: see 'A Tuft of Primroses' (1808; pub. 1949), and a sonnet on the feudal ranks and traditions of Biscayan society in Spain: see 'The Oak of Guernica' (1815). A satirical use of the word occurs in connection with the lewd conduct of the upper classes of English society: see 'An Imitation of Juvenal – Satire VIII' (1800; pub. 1940). Of the remaining instances 1 is a proper term of reproach for a churlish rural labourer who has just beaten his poor boy: see 'Guilt and Sorrow' (1800; pub. 1842). Elsewhere the word 'peasant' is used twice by Wordsworth to describe a rural labourer whom the poet wrongly suspects of wasting his time fishing, whilst 'reapers' all around him are taking advantage of the high wages offered at harvest time. When he sees that the man is a poor cripple, who is trying to maintain his self-respect and independence, the poet is smitten with remorse at his own 'rash judgement' and the derogatory word 'peasant' is dropped in favour of the simple and democratic epithet 'The Man': see 'A Narrow Girdle Of Rough Stones And Crags' (1800). Likewise in 'A Poet's Epitaph' (1800), Wordsworth commands a war-proud soldier 'to lean upon a peasant's staff'. Because this poem deals with whole groups or classes of men and occupations – such as statesmen, physicians, lawyers and divines – rather than their social ranks and degrees, the phrase 'a peasant's staff' is a satisfactory answer to the soldier's 'sword'. The word is used allusively, in a verse letter to Sir George Beaumont to convey the image of a country girl in the Lake Counties, who greets the poet from the door of her hill-side cottage. He thereupon compares her high situation and pleasing looks to the Swiss pastoralists whom he had seen, in his youth, upon the Alpine steeps: see 'Epistle to Sir George Howland Beaumont' (1811; pub. 1842). Likewise, Wordsworth described a peat-gatherer as a peasant, in 'An Evening Walk' (1793), but again we have no way of telling whether or not the man was a rural labourer, statesman, or other engaged in some seasonal work. It was a general word for a rural worker or countryman seen from a distance. (Even *The Prelude* (1805 text) uses the word 'peasant' as a noun only three times; twice with reference

to the Swiss pastoralists; and once with reference to the poet's walking along a country road 'like a Peasant'.)

See too J. O. Hayden (ed.), *William Wordsworth. The Poems* (1977), Vol. 2. In this volume of poems the word 'peasant' occurs 12 times as a proper noun and only 4 times as an adjective. Of the former, 2 refer properly to Swiss peasants; 3 to Scots; and 1 to an Italian peasant: see, respectively, *The Excursion* (1814), Bk 7, p. 243; sonnet XX, 'Effusion in the Presence of the Painted Tower of Tell, at Altorf' (1822); *The Excursion* (1814), Bk 5, p. 181; 'Stanzas Suggested in a Steamboat off Saint Bees' Heads, on the Coast of Cumberland' (1833); 'The Black Stone Of Iona' (1833); and 'The Eclipse of the Sun [Seen at Italy]' (1820). Of the English uses, 2 are redundant as they appear in the 'Argument' to Book Seven of *The Excursion* (1814), p. 221, and their use in the text is general, referring to a lowly timber wain and a young boy of rustic character: see pp. 236 and 244. The 2 other uses of the word involve formal depictions of post-feudal relations between king and subjects in the old landed order: see 'By the Side Rydal Mere' (1835). As for the adjectival uses of the word, it serves as a stylistic equivalent to 'rustic'. It occurs in a formal contrast between 'the monarch's tower' and 'the peasant's cell': see 'Ode: The Morning of the Day Appointed for a General Thanksgiving. January 18, 1816' (1816); and is also used as a synonym for ploughman, or farmer, in the phrase 'the peasant's whistling breath': see 'On the Power of Sound' (1835). Two other uses of the word refer to Italian peasants: see 'At Rome' (1837) and 'At Albano' (1837). In brief, the word 'peasant', in Volume 2 of the said poems, refers to 3 Englishmen in modern times, none of whom are 'statesmen' proper, and only one of whom is a 'farmer' in general. Indeed, the statesmen are usually called 'dalesmen' – a typically native word: see, for example, *The Excursion* (1814), Bk 6, p. 203, Bk 7, pp. 247 and 323. Wordsworth's several uses of the word 'peasant', in this highly representative sample of poems, does not support J. V. Beckett's view that the Romantic poet invariably portrays the statesmen and yeomen of the Lake District without respect to their English customs, character and idiom. The examples given above do not detract from the national character of the Englishman, in general, or the small holder, in particular. Nor does it confound the different social and political traditions on both sides of the Channel – either in the past or in the present.

Appendix II Wordsworth and 'the vices of an archaic tenurial law': a Rebuttal of Criticisms by V. G. Kiernan

Radical historians have frequently claimed that Wordsworth did not deal enough with the social and economic constraints of the statesmen system of farming. As V. G. Kiernan observed:

Neither in the 'pastoral poems' nor in the letter to Fox did he speak of the vices of an archaic tenurial law in this old Border country, still burdened with 'numerous and strong remains of vassalage', covered with customary manors demanding heriots, boon services, and worst of all those arbitrary *fin*es on succession which did as much as anything to make it hard for families to cling to their little holdings.¹

Although customary rents were fixed at low rates for the time, comparatively heavy fines were often paid, for example, 'on the death of tenant or of lord'. Likewise the *heriot*, or feudal due, owed to the lord on the death of a tenant often took the form of the best beast, such as a cow. A succession of such fines could force a poor or ill-prepared statesman to sell his estate and join the ranks of tenant farmers or rural labourers.² Moreover, Wordsworth's contemporaries would have agreed with Kiernan's argument.³ They too dismissed these 'base tenures' as nothing more than states of vassalage; but their own detailed accounts of the sheer variety of customary dues and obligations in the Border counties must surely qualify, if not disprove, their views of the topic.⁴ Isaac Gilpin declared quite accurately, in the 1650s, that:

Customes[,] especially in the Northern Parts of this nation [,] are so various & differing in themselves as that a man might almost say That there are as many severall Customes as mannors or Lordshippes in a County, yea and almost as many as there are Town[s]hipps or Hamletts in a mannor, or Lordshipp each one differing from [the] other in some particular Cases [or] other . . .⁵

It is regrettable that Wordsworth's critics have universally ignored this remark, and exaggerated the burden of customary dues and obligations, which were usually *fixed* at satisfactory rates or traditional scales. Some fines in the Barony of Kendal, for example, were 'certain'.⁶ Some fines were 'arbitrary' in the legal sense of 'unfixed', or 'discretionary', but we must not forget the mitigating effects of 'time and chance' upon this post-feudal system of landholding. First of all, manors were normally mixed and contained different rates of freeholders, customary tenants and copyholders, who all qualified for the term 'statesmen' in the widest sense, but were not subjected to equal customs and impositions.

Great Dalston, for example, was 'a mixed manor, consisting of 20 freehold tenements, 114 copyholds, 40 customary tenements, [and] 40 leaseholders for lives. A copyholder, on death or alienation' paid 'to the lord a year's rent for a fine'. The customary tenants, however, paid two years' rent on change of tenant, but nothing on change of lord. In the parish of Caldbeck, moreover, some of the tenants at Greenrigg paid arbitrary fines to Lord Wharton, whilst others in the parish paid a 10d fine certain by decree. In the parish of Scaleby three cottagers paid 2s per annum rent and a 20d fine certain, whilst the 40 freeholders in the area were exempt from paying rent and services (except 'suit of court'). Likewise, the Howards, in the Barony of Graystoke, received about 120 pounds customary rent per year from 257 customary tenants, and only suit of court, one gathers, from the 106 freeholders in the area. Finally, consider, for example, the parish of Kirkclinton, where 23 customary tenants paid L1 17s 2 1/4d in rent, suit of court, and a 20d fine. However, for their part, 62 freeholders paid no fines nor rents, only a free or quit rent of L5 18s 11 3/4d for 'the late improved commons'.⁷ Second, the Border tenants were not necessarily conscious of anything irrational in the old system of fines, rents, boon days and heriots; if anything they generally agreed with the way in which things were done 'time out of mind'.⁸ Third, they often used this traditional standard as a rod with which to beat their landlords. Innumerable Border tenants took their 'archaic tenurial law' for the best guarantee of their ancient rights and duties. Indeed, they had acquired, since Elizabethan times, a just reputation for independence of mind and manners during long legal battles with their lords. In his scathing attack upon the character and activities of customary-tenants in the Border counties, in 1617, Robert Snoden, the new Bishop of Carlisle, declared, to King James I, that 'the vulgar people are subtil, violent, litigious, and pursuers of endless suites by appeals, to their utter impoverishment, the poor wretches [moreover] finde admittance of their most unreasonable appeales, both at York and London, for which those higher Courts deserve to be blamed'.⁹ Many examples could be given, even down to the poet's time. Thus, for example, the tenants of Lowther Parish readily disputed with Wordsworth's would-be patron, Sir William Lowther, over the issue of arbitrary fines, upon his succession to the lands of Sir James Lowther.¹⁰ Fourth, as a result of such litigation and the dangerous situation of tenant right in the seventeenth century, tenants often compounded with their lords for confirmation of their estates and customs. Ironically, for example, the Prince of Wales, in the sixteenth year of James I, was more than willing to compound with his Westmorland tenants for the huge sum of L2700. About the same time, the tenants of Plumpton Park in Lazonby compounded with the Earl of Annandale for L800. Such practices continued piecemeal for many decades to come.¹¹ Fifth, many tenants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries slowly released themselves, and their heirs, from many 'ridiculous and disagreeable burdens', by means of money payments, and moved towards the full status of freeholders. Thus, the tenants of Cumwhitton, who numbered about 80 in the late eighteenth century, used 'to pay each one shilling in lieu' of services other than suit of court. Even whole manors were bought by their tenants, or were left to them in trust by noble minded or obliging landlords. Thus John, Lord Ashburnham, in 1715, readily sold the Manor of Martindale 'to the tenants for 1825L', whose heirs or counterparts, in Wordsworth's day, were all freeholders, and numbered about 46 when Nicolson and Burn wrote their famous account (1769-70). (They still, of course, paid a quit rent of L3 4s 10d to the Earl of

Egremont.¹²) Sixth, tenants did not normally pay general fines on the death of the landlord if he was the head of a religious or academic corporation, which, in legal jargon, never died. Likewise, Crown tenants were usually free of such fines on the death of the monarch, though there were exceptions to this rule.¹³ Seventh, there were sometimes significant differences between the reputed or confirmed customs of a manor and their execution. This applied to everything from the rights of customary tenants to pasture so many sheep on a fell-side, moor or waste, to the number of boon days or tasks performed for the local lord. It is easy to confuse legal rights with everyday usage¹⁴; and just as easy to forget that customs often lapsed with time,¹⁵ or were forfeited by landlords during periods of religious, political or economic distress. Of course, religious upheavals, civil war and depressions could also provide impoverished landlords with added incentives to squeeze their tenants into new conditions of tenure and dependence. Thus the courts, in the seventeenth century, were encouraged to ignore both the freehold elements and the military basis of tenant right estate, and to place it on a par with copyholds and tenures at will, in response to the union of the two countries under James I.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the so-called 'vices' of 'an archaic tenorial law in this old Border country' were not overwhelming objections to the viability of the statesmen system of farming.

Notes

Introduction

- 1 The legal definition of *tenant right* is the subject of Chapters 1 and 2 of this book. It is sufficient here to define it as a special form of customary tenure in the Lake Counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire (north of the Sands). Its peculiar features of self-sufficient farming and strong social ties, however, were also adopted over the centuries by many enfranchised tenants and freeholders in the area. These small landholders, on account of their hereditary farms, or 'estates', were called 'statesmen', or 'estatesmen', in the remote north of the country. In consequence, the definition of 'the statesmen system of farming' is as much social as legal in character.
- 2 The following books and articles are indispensable to the student of Golden Age theories during the Industrial Revolution: M. D. George, *England in Transition* (London: Penguin Books, 1953), esp. Chs 1, 2 and 5; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968), esp. Ch. 4, 'The Free-born Englishman'; *idem*, 'Eighteenth-century English Society: Class Struggle without Class?', *SH* I (Jan. 1978), pp. 13–165; C. Hill, 'The Norman Yoke', in J. Saville (ed.), *Democracy and the Labour Movement* (London: Lawrence and Wishart Ltd, 1956), pp. 11–66; E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution 1789–1848* (New York and Toronto: The New American Library, 1962), Ch. 14, 'The Arts', pp. 299–326, and Ch. 12, 'Ideology: Religion', pp. 271–6; R. Williams, *The Long Revolution* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1961), Part One; and *idem*, *Culture and Society 1780–1950* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963), esp. Chs 1, 2 and 3; and H. Perkin, *Origins of Modern English Society* (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1969), esp. Part Four, 'The Birth of Class'.
- 3 Cf. C. Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–15. Cf. N. Hampson, *The Enlightenment* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968), p. 206.
- 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 11–12.
- 5 H. A. MacDougall, *Racial Myth in English History* (Montreal: Harvest House/Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1982), pp. 56–9. See too H. Butterfield, *The Englishman and his History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1945), pp. 38–40.
- 6 C. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
- 7 W. Wordsworth, *A Guide Through the District of the Lakes in the North of England*, 5th edn (1835), in W. J. B. Owen and J. W. Smyser (eds), *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp. 196–8.
- 8 C. M. L. Bouch, *Prelates and People of the Lake Counties. A History of the Diocese of Carlisle 1133–1933* (Kendal: Titus Wilson And Son Ltd, 1948), p. 21.
- 9 Cf. W. Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 224.
- 10 William Wordsworth to C. J. Fox, letter dated 14 January 1801, in A. G. Hill (ed.), *Letters of William Wordsworth. A New Selection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 42–3.
- 11 J. S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy* [1848] (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1929), Ch. 6, 'Of Peasant Proprietors', pp. 256–7 (incl. n. *). J. V.

- Beckett, "The Peasant in England": a Case of Terminological Confusion', *AHR*, 32 (1984), pp. 120–2; and R. N. Soffer, 'Attitudes and Allegiances in the Unskilled North, 1830–1850', *IRSH*, 10 1965, pp. 445–54.
- 12 See the following works: G. Slater, *The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields* (New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1968 reprint [1st edn: London: Archibald Constable and Co. Ltd, 1907]), pp. 257–60; P. Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century* (rev. and reset by T. S. Ashton) (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd, 1961), p. 136. The effect of Wordsworth's poetry and prose on the Hammonds is real but diffuse. The same holds true for G. M. Trevelyan, M. D. George and E. P. Thompson. See: J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Bleak Age* (rev. edn) (West Drayton: Penguin Books, 1947), *passim*; G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History: a Survey of Six Centuries[:] Chaucer to Queen Victoria* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1942), *passim*; M. D. George, *op. cit.*, *passim*; and E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1968), pp. 242–3 and 378.
- 13 A. C. Gibson, *The Old Man; Or Ravings and Ramblings Round Conistone* (Kendal: James Robinson, Fish-Market, 1854), *passim*; J. D. Marshall, "Statesmen" in Cumbria: the Vicissitudes of an Expression', *CW2*, 72 (1972), pp. 248–73; and J. V. Beckett, *op. cit.*, pp. 113–23.
- 14 Cf. A. H. Johnson, *The Disappearance of the Small Landowner* (Oxford University Press, 1910), Ch. 1: 'England and France Compared. Influence of Land Laws'.
- 15 J. V. Beckett, *op. cit.*, pp. 113–23.
- 16 A. Briggs, *The Age of Improvement 1783–1867* (London: Longman Group Ltd, 1959), p. 40.
- 17 W. Wordsworth, 'Near Anio's stream, I spied a gentle Dove' (1837), l. 14 in J. O. Hayden (ed.), *William Wordsworth. The Poems*, Vol. 2 (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977), p. 854. Cf. W. Wordsworth, 'French Revolution As It Appeared to Enthusiasts at its Commencement' (1809), ll. 32–40, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 637:

Now was it that both found, the meek and lofty
 Did both find, helpers to their heart's desire,
 And stuff at hand, plastic as they could wish;
 Were called upon to exercise their skill,
 Not in Utopia, subterranean fields,
 Or some secreted island, Heaven knows where!
 But in the very world, which is the world
 Of all of us, – the place where in the end
 We find our happiness, or not at all!

- 18 W. Wordsworth, 'Prospectus to' *The Excursion* (1814), ll. 47–55 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.* Vol. 2, pp. 38–9.
- 19 W. Wordsworth, 'Home at Grasmere' (comp. by 1806; pub. 1888), l. 754 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 717.
- 20 M. Arnold, 'Wordsworth', in *idem, Essays in Criticism: Second Series* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1888), p. 153.
- 21 Rousseau argued that man 'is naturally good' but easily corrupted by the material comforts and machinations of social and political life. He therefore contrasted the simplicity, innocence and freedom of man in 'the state

- of nature' to 'the secret pretensions' of the civilised man – for property, power and artificial pleasures. J. J. Rousseau, *A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, in *idem, The Social Contract and Discourses* (tr. and intro. by G. D. H. Cole) (rev. by J. H. Brumfitt and J. C. Hall) (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1973), pp. 27–113. The quotations are taken from pp. 106–8 of the said text.
- 22 H. Perkin, *op. cit.*; J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1688–1832: Ideology, Social Structure, and Political Practice During the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); *idem, Revolution and Rebellion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); A. J. Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War* (London: Croom Helm, 1981); and W. D. Rubinstein, *Elites and the Wealthy in Modern British History* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1987); and *idem, Capitalism, Culture and Decline in Britain 1750–1900* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993).
- 23 See, for example, Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society 1780–1950* (1963), pp. 23–39.
- 24 W. Cobbett, *PR*, 32 (1817), pp. 498–9. Cf. *idem, Cottage Economy* (London: Peter Davies, 1926 edn), p. 4.
- 25 G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century and After (1782–1919)*, new edn (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1939), p. 28 incl. n. 1. W. Wordsworth, 'Home at Grasmere', (1806), l. 10 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 697.
- 26 A. V. Dicey, *The Statesmanship of Wordsworth: an Essay* (London: Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1917), pp. 9–10 and 12–13.
- 27 Most critics have paid lip-service to Wordsworth's upbringing in Old Lakeland as relevant to his radical convictions about 'the government of equal rights/ And individual worth'. Only V. G. Kiernan, however, has revealed its Golden Age significance for students of Wordsworth's early politics. The poet's definition of 'the People' links him 'with the long tradition . . . of Populism'. In fact his retirement to the north of England, in 1799, after his revolutionary activities in France, 'meant withdrawal to . . . a fortress protected by mountains and by their inhabitants, like himself sturdy individualists but with strong social ties'. These valuable conclusions were drawn almost twenty years after Kiernan wrote his famous essay called 'Wordsworth and the People', first published in 1956, but reprinted with a 'Postscript' in 1975. Nevertheless, they were not supported with sufficient evidence to warrant their reception as fact. Kiernan was content to assume what he ought to have proved. Moreover, his radical framework diminishes the significance of his account. The 'statesmen', for example, were defined as 'a free peasantry' whose 'tenacious . . . individualism' was similar to that of the *kulaks* of Eastern Europe in the twentieth century. The peculiar features of the statesmen, which endeared them to the poet, were lost in the historian's love of comparative terms. (Cf. V. G. Kiernan, *ibid.*, pp. 198–201, 204–5 and elsewhere.) Nevertheless, his 'populist' perspective adds considerable weight to my comparison of William Wordsworth with William Cobbett, in Chapter 3, which reveals their 'Old English' habits and agrarian values. Wordsworth's views of the people, like Cobbett's, were basically the lives of the petty-producers writ large.
- 28 W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude, or 'Growth of a Poet's Mind' (Text of 1805)*, 2nd edn (ed. by E. De Selincourt; corrected by S. Gill) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), Bk 13, ll. 107–10, p. 232.

- 29 I have drawn upon several primary documents for this survey of the poet's family in Cumberland and Westmorland. Some of these sources may be found in the 'Appendix' to Christopher Wordsworth's book, *Memoirs of Wordsworth* (London: Edward Moxon, Dover Street, 1851), Vol. 2, pp. 510–24.
- 30 W. Wordsworth, 'Autobiographical Memoranda' (comp. Nov. 1847; pub. 1851) in J. O. Hayden, *William Wordsworth. Selected Prose* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1988), p. 3.
- 31 The manor house dated from 1533. R. S. Ferguson, *A History of Westmorland* (London: Elliot Stock, 1894), p. 285.
- 32 Charles Howard (1746–1805), the 11th Duke of Norfolk, held a large estate around Greystoke Castle. Cf. Dorothy Wordsworth to Jane Pollard, letter dated late July 1787, in E. De Selincourt (ed.), *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: the Early Years 1787–1805*, 2nd edn (rev. by C. L. Shaver) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), [=Vol. 1], p. 4. Cf. W. Parson and W. White, *History, Directory, and Gazetteer of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, with that Part of the Lake District, Forming the Lordships of Furness and Cartmel, Etc.* (Leeds: W. White and Co., 1829), pp. 560–1: the writers record that most of the estates were sold to freehold during 1818. This might have been part of the election contest between the whigs and the tories.
- 33 S. Gill, *William Wordsworth. A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 429, n. 17.
- 34 Cf. the letter and 'pedigree' sent by Charles Robinson to his cousin, Christopher Wordsworth (jnr), dated 18 July 1850, in *idem, op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 522–4.
- 35 W. Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–4. Cf. J. Hunter, *History of the Deanery of Doncaster*, [–], extracts therefrom, reprinted in Christopher Wordsworth (jnr), *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 520–2.
- 36 Charles Robinson quoted in Christopher Wordsworth (jnr), *ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 522–3.
- 37 Cf. too C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *A Short Economic and Social History of the Lake Counties 1500–1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), p. 271. Between 1739 and 1740, for instance, about four and a half million pounds of tobacco passed through the port of Whitehaven from Virginia. C. M. L. Bouch, *op. cit.*, p. 345.
- 38 John Robinson (1727–1802) was articled to William Wordsworth's grandfather, Richard. (He was the nephew of Mary Wordsworth, *née* Robinson.) Upon Richard's death he was appointed law-agent and land-steward to Sir James Lowther. Through the Lowther interest he became MP for Westmorland (1764–74), but when his employer turned 'whig' over foreign policy, in 1770, he left his position as land steward in favour of his cousin John Wordsworth (the poet's father). Lord North made him Secretary of the Treasury (1770–82) and he served as MP for Harwich from 1774 till his death in 1802. He declined a peerage in 1784. In 1787 William Pitt made him surveyor-general of woods and forests; and both of his employments, as statesman and farmer, earned him the high regard of King George III. His role as patron and adviser to the several branches of the Wordsworth and Robinson families is seen in the present paragraph: for example, both the poet's cousin (Hugh Robinson) and brother (John Wordsworth) became captains in the East India Service through John Robinson's influence. *DNB*, XVII, pp. 26–8.
- 39 Strictly speaking he was an 'attorney-at-law, as lawyers of this class were then called and law agent to Sir James Lowther'. William Wordsworth quoted

- in J. O. Hayden, *op. cit.*, p. 3. He was also Coroner of the Seignory of Millom in the south-west part of Cumberland and the Bailiff and Recorder of the Borough of Cockermouth in the north-west of the county. Amanda M. Ellis, *Rebels and Conservatives. Dorothy and William Wordsworth and their Circle* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967), pp. 10–11. For a brief account of the career and income of Sir James Lowther, see A. Valentine's *The British Establishment, 1760–1784. An Eighteenth-Century Biographical Dictionary* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), Vol. 2, p. 550.
- 40 Mary Wordsworth, widow, died 1770. She lived with her eldest son, Richard, at Whitehaven in order to leave the Sockbridge estate as a residence for her youngest son, John. Cf. Charles Robinson quoted by Christopher Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 523. Cf. too M. Moorman, *William Wordsworth. A Biography: the Early Years 1770–1803* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957) [= Vol. 1], pp. 5–6.
- 41 Cf. E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1 (1787–1805), pp. 3 n. 3 and 25 n. 4. Richard was also left a legacy by John Robinson in 1802. *DNB*, Vol. XVII, p. 28.
- 42 M. Moorman, *William Wordsworth, a Biography: the Later Years 1803–1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965) [= Vol. 2], p. 246: 'When he had held the post a year he reckoned that, with the necessary deductions, he was making about L.200 by it, but he was not disturbed, and said [that] he found the employment "salutary", and of consequence in a pecuniary point of view'.
- 43 Cf. *DNB*, XXI, pp. 922–3 and XI, pp. 1288–9 (re. Priscilla's brother, Charles). Although Christopher Wordsworth did not become Master of the said College until 1820, his distinguished patrons had guaranteed that his career was always profitable and secure. Consider, for example, the following summary given in the *DNB*: 'The bishop in 1804 presented him to the rectory of Ashby with Oby and Thinne, [in] Norfolk, a preferment which enabled him to marry. In 1805, when Manners-Sutton became archbishop of Canterbury, he made Wordsworth his domestic chaplain, and transferred him first to the rectory of Woodchurch, [in] Kent (1806), and next (1808) to the deanery and rectory of Bocking, [in] Essex, to which Monks-Eleigh, [in] Suffolk, was afterwards added (1812). In 1816 these preferments were exchanged for St. Mary's, [in] Lambeth, and Sundridge, [in] Kent. . . . In 1817, when his old pupil [Manners Sutton jnr] was elected speaker of the House of the Commons, Wordsworth became chaplain' (*ibid.*, XXI, p. 922).
- 44 See the pedigree cited in footnote 34 above.
- 45 See the standard biographies of the poet by Mary Moorman and Stephen Gill listed in the bibliography of this book.
- 46 Cf. R. Woof, 'Introduction' to T. W. Thompson, *Wordsworth's Hawkshead* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. xix.
- 47 J. Housman, *A Topographical Description of Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and a Part of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (Carlisle, 1800), p. 105.
- 48 W. Parson and W. White, *op. cit.*, p. 11. He was even unfairly listed in the famous radical indictment against 'Old Corruption', called *The Black Book: or, Corruption Unmasked* (1820). See: V. G. Kiernan, 'Wordsworth and the People' (1956; rev. 1973) in D. Craig (ed.), *Marxists on Literature: an Anthology* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975), p. 114, n. 102.
- 49 No doubt the pattern of education, amongst the middle and upper classes, was changing markedly in the eighteenth century with the use of private

- tutors, and rapidly in the early nineteenth century with the growth of the great public schools – especially in the south of England – but the average gentleman's son in the Lake District, before the nineteenth century, received his formal education at the local grammar school. F. J. G. Robinson, 'The Education of an 18th Century Gentleman: George Edward Stanley of Dalegarth and Ponsonby', *CW2*, 70 (1970), p. 181.
- 50 Cf. M. Moorman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 72.
- 51 A. Valentine, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 550. The Lowther pedigree is given by Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn in their book, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, The Strand, 1777), Vol. 1, pp. 428–37. Cf. *Burke's Peerage, Baronetcy and Knightage* (1970), pp. 1650–1. William Wordsworth the younger was usually called 'Willy' by family and friends. John Wordsworth, the poet's eldest son, 'had taken orders, and at the end of 1828 was preferred to the rectory of Moresby, [in] Cumberland, by Lord Lonsdale. He afterwards became vicar of Brigham' in the same county. *DNB*, XXI, p. 938.
- 52 M. H. Friedman, *The Making of a Tory Humanist: William Wordsworth and the Idea of Community* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), *passim*, esp. the 'Introduction', pp. 4–5, Chs 1 and 2, and the 'Conclusion' pp. 295–302.
- 53 W. Salmon, *Logic*, 2nd edn (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), pp. 11 and 96.
- 54 W. D. Rubinstein, 'Wealth, Elites and the Class Structure of Modern Britain', in *idem*, *loc. cit.*, p. 65.
- 55 W. Wordsworth, 'The Old Cumberland Beggar' (1800), ll. 87–105 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 265.
- 56 H. Perkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 176–83, and *passim*.
- 57 J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1688–1832* (1985), pp. 64–93, 'The Survival of Patriarchalism; or, Did the Industrial Revolution Really Happen', and pp. 93–118, 'The Social Theory of Elite Hegemony'.
- 58 Cf. J. Brewer, 'English Radicalism in the Age of George III', in J. G. A. Pocock (ed.), *Three British Revolutions: 1641, 1688, 1776* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 345–50.
- 59 M. Weber, 'The Sociology of Charismatic Authority', in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (trs and eds), *From Max Weber. Essays in Sociology* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1948), pp. 245–52.
- 60 *Ibid.*, p. 245.
- 61 *Ibid.*, pp. 246–7.
- 62 *Ibid.*, p. 248.
- 63 W. Wordsworth, 'Prospectus to' *The Excursion* (1814), ll. 60–1 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 39. Cf. *idem*, *The Prelude (Text of 1805)*, Bk 13, ll. 435–45, p. 241. Addressing Coleridge, Wordsworth's tongue was loosed:

Prophets of Nature, we to them will speak
 A lasting inspiration, sanctified
 By reason and by truth; what we have loved,
 Others will love; and we may teach them how;
 Instruct them how the mind of man becomes
 A thousand times more beautiful than the earth
 On which he dwells, above this Frame of things
 (Which, 'mid all revolutions in the hopes

And fears of men, doth still remain unchanged)
 In beauty exalted, as it is itself
 Of substance and of fabric more divine.

- 64 Cf. H. Davies, *William Wordsworth, A Biography* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980), p. 119. W. Wordsworth, *The Excursion* – 'Preface to the Edition of 1814', in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 36.
- 65 M. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
- 66 P. L. Berger, *Invitation to Sociology. A Humanistic Perspective* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963), pp. 147–8.
- 67 V. G. Kiernan, *op. cit.*, pp. 161–206; M. H. Friedman, *op. cit.*; D. Simpson, *Wordsworth's Historical Imagination. The Poetry of Displacement* (New York: Methuen, 1987); J. Williams, *Wordsworth: Romantic Poetry and Revolution Politics* (Manchester University Press, 1989); and J. Lucas, *England and Englishness. Ideas of Nationhood in English Poetry 1688–1900* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1990).
- 68 Cf. W. Wordsworth, 'Ode to Duty' (1807), l. 27 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 606.
- 69 H. Bloom and L. Trilling (eds), *Romantic Poetry and Prose* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 126. The editors, however, wrongly concluded that 'the facts of Wordsworth's own mature biography do little to explain his poetic decay'. They surmise instead that a failure to resolve the 'conflict between [his] questing [poetical] self and adherence to nature may be the [artistic] clue to Wordsworth's rapid, indeed catastrophic decline after 1807, at the very latest'.
- 70 W. Wordsworth, 'The Warning' (1835), ll. 140–6 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 740.
- 71 S. Gill, *op. cit.*, p. 379.
- 72 F. D. Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution* (ed. and rev. by A. Elton) (London: Paladin, 1968), pp. 91–104. Two other exceptions are Crane Brinton's classic essay, *The Political Ideas of the English Romanticists* (New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1962), and Alfred Cobban's brilliant exposition of the Lake Poets in his book, *Edmund Burke and the Revolt against the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd edn (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1960).
- 73 *Ibid.*, p. 103.
- 74 *Ibid.*, p. 104.
- 75 W. Wordsworth, *The Excursion* (1814), Bk 5, l. 29 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 158.
- 76 W. Wordsworth, 'Blest Statesman He, whose Mind's unselfish will', l. 14 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 819.
- 77 W. Wordsworth, 'Not in the lucid intervals of life' (1835), l. 30 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 783. *Idem*, 'To the Utilitarians' (comp. 1833; pub. 1885), l. 2 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 744. Wordsworth's evident 'despair' over material progress and science and especially his proto-Christian pessimism about the nature and meaning of man's spiritual life in a world 'of low pursuits' and economic abundance are also revealed in his poems called 'The Warning' (comp. 1833; pub. 1835) and 'Memorials of a Tour in Italy, 1837' (comp. c. 1840–1; pub. 1842), *ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 736 ff. and pp. 839 ff. These poems can be compared usefully, from a social point of view, with the various conclusions of C. G. Jung, in 'The Spiritual Problem of

- Modern Man' (1933), in *idem*, *Modern Man in Search of a Soul* (tr. by W. S. Dell and C. F. Bayne) (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1961), pp. 226–54; Vance Packard, in *The Hidden Persuaders* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books [orig. pub. 1957], 1960), esp. Ch. 23, 'The Question of Morality'; and Sidney Pollard, in *The Idea of Progress* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968), Ch. 4, 'A Digression: Doubtters and Pessimists' and Ch. 5, 'The Challenge of Progress Today'.
- 78 F. Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair. A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974; originally published in 1961).
- 79 W. D. Rubinstein, *Capitalism, Culture, and Decline in Modern Britain 1750–1900* (1993), p. 52. For further details of Dr. Rubinstein's thesis about Britain's unique culture and its relevance to the nation's social, economic and political life (and vice versa) see: *ibid.*, pp. 49, 51, 69–70, 76, 84–5, 87, and 100–1.
- 80 W. D. Rubinstein, 'The End of "Old Corruption" in Britain, 1780–1860', in *idem*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 270 and 278 (respectively). Cf. pp. 274–5: 'Rewards did not accord with effort or duty; promotion did not occur according to merit or seniority even in a nominal sense; the highest and most lucrative places had the fewest duties, and, often, the least *raison d'être*. Indeed, the most lucrative and impressive offices frequently had no duties at all, and their holders no objective qualifications for holding them. Succession to responsible office was often determined by hereditary succession to that office or by open sale, criteria which even the Victorian period would find unacceptable'.
- 81 For a broad definition of 'populism' in the period 1789–1914, see: E. J. Hobsbawm, *op. cit.*, pp. 85–6. Cf. too the case of the *Mittelstand* in pre-war Germany. The independent *Mittelstand* of peasant proprietors, artisans, small businessmen and shopkeepers has been studied as a model 'of deeply rooted anti-modernist and illiberal ideas in industrializing Germany', though its unity as a 'class' which stood boldly between organised labour and organised capital has been somewhat exaggerated for the period 1871–1914. See the illuminating article by David Blackburn, called 'The *Mittelstand* in German Society and Politics, 1871–1914', *SH*, No. 4 Vol. 7 (1977), pp. 409–33.
- 82 W. Wordsworth, 'Stanzas Suggested in a Steamboat off Saint Bees' Head, on the Coast of Cumberland' (1835), l. 12 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 749. *Idem*, 'Humanity' (1835), l. 44 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 690. And *idem*, *The Prelude (1805 Text)*, Bk 13, ll. 261–4, p. 225. His social argument against the shallow equation of moral and material progress is the first of many such works on the topic in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – especially by Catholic and Protestant theologians in England, Europe and America. Cf. Sidney Pollard, *The Idea of Progress* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968), p. 198.
- 83 M. Moorman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 503. Cf. G. M. Harper, *William Wordsworth: His Life, Works, and Influence* (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W., 1916), Vol. 1, p. 420.
- 84 W. Wordsworth, 'Prospectus to' *The Excursion* (comp. 1798; pub. 1814), ll. 14–18 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 37–8. Cf. too Ralph Waldo Emerson's first conversation with Wordsworth at Rydal Mount on 28 August 1833: Wordsworth said he 'preferred such of his poems as touched the affections to any others; for whatever is didactic – what theories of society, and so on – might perish quickly; but whatever combined a truth with an affection was

ktema es aie, good to-day and good forever'. R. W. Emerson, *English Traits* [Unabridged, 1856] (London: George G. Harrap and Co., Undated), p. 15.

85 W. Wordsworth, *ibid.*, ll. 7 and 10 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 37.

1 Old Lakeland: a Golden Age Ideal

- 1 J. D. Marshall, "'Statesmen" in Cumbria: the Vicissitudes of an Expression', *CW2*, 62 (1972), pp. 248–73.
- 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 250 and 254–5.
- 3 *Ibid.*, pp. 260–72.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 259.
- 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 258–9.
- 6 *Ibid.*, pp. 253, 255–6 and 258–9. The editors of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1933) III, D-E, p. 301 used two quotations from pp. 85–6 of the 1823 edition of Wordsworth's 'Guide to the Scenery of the Lakes', first published in 1820, to illustrate the sense of the term 'estatesman': 'The family of each man, whether estatesmen or farmer, formerly had a two-fold support'; and 'The lands of the estatesmen being mortgaged . . . they fell into the hands of wealthy purchasers'. Nonetheless, Dr Marshall's study of the word's local use in parish registers and legal documents shows that Wordsworth was not responsible for its formation: For example, 'Samewell [= Samuel] Lancaster' of Barton, in Westmorland, was described by the constable-enumerators of the Census for that county, in 1787, as an 'Estatesman' (J. D. Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 256). In consequence, the editors of the *Oxford Dictionary* were wrong to describe Wordsworth's usage of the word 'estatesman' as an 'etymologizing perversion of [the word] STATESMAN'. As for the latter word, they found the earliest, if doubtful, instance of its provincial use in the opening remarks and final farewell of a letter dated Oxford, 16 July 1695, 'from James Fleming to his brother Robert Fleming' ('att Rydall'), which begins with 'Quondam Staits Man', and concludes with 'I am Your affectionate Statets Man' (*op. cit.*, X, p. 858). The rules of etymology, moreover, require that the latter word be formed by eliding the 'e' from the former. Nevertheless, the evidence to hand does not prove that this happened. Where then does this leaves us? The two terms, 'statesman' and 'estatesman', were probably two distinct words for the owner of a small landed estate which vied for the privilege of being used by the Lakelanders – with the shorter word seeming to win favour at a very early date.
- 7 *Ibid.*, pp. 255–6.
- 8 'Isaac Dobson', for example, 'who founded one of the great cotton-spinning firms of Lancashire, was the youngest child of an old yeoman family, established in Westmorland since the fourteenth century'. (P. Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century* (1961 edn), pp. 371–2.) Likewise, Issac Wilkinson, the father of the famous iron master John Wilkinson, 'was a Lake District farmer who became the foreman of a neighbouring iron works at 12s. a week' (*ibid.*, p. 372).
- 9 J. D. Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 260–1. Marshall calls this method of deduction, an *argumentum e silentio*, or an argument from silence.
- 10 A list of early literary accounts on the Lake District is also given by Christopher Wordsworth (junior), in his *Memoirs of William Wordsworth* (1851),

- Vol. 1, pp. 446–8. The earliest of these writers – Bishop Burnet (1643–1715), John Evelyn (1620–1706), and Oliver Goldsmith (1730?–74) – were, respectively, horrified, scared stiff, and disappointed by England’s version of the ‘Alps’.
- 11 C. M. L. Bouch, *Prelates and People of the Lake Counties* (1948), p. 353.
 - 12 *Ibid.*, p. 353.
 - 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 353–4.
 - 14 *Ibid.*, pp. 355 and 370.
 - 15 *Ibid.*, p. 414.
 - 16 W. Hutchinson, *The History of the County of Cumberland*, Vol. 2 (Carlisle, 1794), p. 415; cf. p. 413.
 - 17 A. Pringle, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Westmoreland* (Edinburgh, 1794), pp. 40–1.
 - 18 Wordsworth’s *Description of the Scenery of the Lakes* was written as an anonymous introduction to the series of drawings by his acquaintance Joseph Wilkinson, whose work, *Select Views of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire*, appeared in 1810. Wordsworth’s text was probably written between mid-June and early November 1809. See J. O. Hayden (ed.), *William Wordsworth. Selected Prose* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1988), p. 9.
 - 19 J. D. Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 259.
 - 20 C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *A Short Economic and Social History of the Lake Counties 1500–1830* (1961), p. 95.
 - 21 *Ibid.*, p. 95. Thus, for example, Anthony Ward, of Killington and Dillicar, owned 149.5 acres, and Adam Cooke, also of Killington, owned 86 acres, whilst some of their neighbours owned as little as 4 or 5 acres; *ibid.*, pp. 94–5 (incl. n. 1). As for customary tenants, ‘there are indications that in some places [, at least,] they were not very large’; *ibid.*, p. 69. For example, in Aspatria, in 1578, the average size of holdings was 13.7 acres; and in Ravenstonedale, in 1541, the customary estate averaged 5.64 acres; *ibid.*, p. 69.
 - 22 According to Andrew Pringle, *op. cit.*, p. 35, a statute acre in Westmorland was 4840 square yards; a customary acre was 6760 square yards; and a customary acre in the Borderlands of Lancashire was 7840 square yards. Cf. J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland* (London, 1777), Vol. 1, p. 2.
 - 23 C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
 - 24 J. Bailey and G. Culley, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cumberland* (London, 1794), p. 11.
 - 25 A. Pringle, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–1.
 - 26 William Hutchinson using John Housman’s Notes recorded the incomes for statesmen in several parishes in Cumberland during the early 1790s: Parish of Bridekirk: L.60–70, some L.200 (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 259). Parish of Aspatria: L.30–100 (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 259). Parish of Cumwhitton: L.5–50 or 60 (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 177). Parish of Ousby: L.3–70 (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 223). Parish of Edenhall: L.13 (average) (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 271). Parish of Westward: L.15–100 (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 397). Parish of Stapleton: L.40–50, some L.80, a few L.100 (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 581).
 - 27 There is also a place of that name in Durham. In both counties the term ‘statesman’ was used to mean a ‘small independent proprietor’ in Wordsworth’s sense. Moreover, John Housman notes that the manners of

- the statesmen in Yorkshire were very similar to those of rural Lancashire – especially, Lancashire North of Sands, which were little different from those of inner Westmorland. J. Housman, *op. cit.*, pp. 175 and 158.
- 28 T. W. Thompson, *Wordsworth's Hawkshead* (1970), p. 80. Cf. p. 81.
- 29 W. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 415. Frederick, Lord North (1732–92) was created 2nd Earl of Guildford in 1790. He had been 'leader of the house' of Commons between 7 October 1767 and 20 March 1782, before he angered King George the III by joining a coalition government with Charles James Fox between 2 April 1783 and 18 December of that year. Lord North was well known for his fine sense of humour and no doubt relished the idea of a small landowner in Cumberland being called a 'statesman'. *DNB*, XIV, pp. 604–9.
- 30 C. Wordsworth (jnr), *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 52.
- 31 W. Wordsworth, 'Preface to' *Lyrical Ballads* (1802) in J. O. Hayden, *William Wordsworth. The Poems* (1977), Vol. 1, p. 867.
- 32 A. L. Becker, 'Text Building, Epistemology, and Aesthetics in Javanese Shadow Theatre', in A. L. Becker and A. Yengoyan (eds), *The Imagination of Reality* (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1979), p. 236.
- 33 Cf. C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *op. cit.*, *passim*. See too T. W. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 270–83.
- 34 P. Mantoux, *op. cit.*, p. 137 incl. n. 1. Cf. G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), p. 88: "'Yeoman" might indicate a freeholder, but just as well a copyholder or leaseholder whose interest in the land was more than an annual tenancy but less than a freehold.'
- 35 Freeholders were most common in Cumberland in the 1790s. At least, the following sample of Parishes, composed from '[John] Housman's Notes', finds no parallel in Furness or Westmorland, where customary tenures were most entrenched. (Source: W. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, Vols 1 and 2.) The Parish of Cleator was 'wholly freehold' (Vol. 1, p. 532). But the rest of this list of Parishes were described as 'chiefly freehold': Aspatria (Vol. 2, p. 287), Bassenthwaite (Vol. 2, p. 237), Lamplugh (Vol. 2, p. 97), Millom (Vol. 1, p. 532), Skelton (Vol. 1, p. 516), Torpenhow (Vol. 2, p. 358), and Uldale (Vol. 2, p. 370). Of course, no figures were given. In consequence, we cannot know the actual numbers of customary tenants or freeholders in any of these parishes. Nonetheless, Housman implies that these parishes were not consolidated into large estates so much as owned and occupied by small farmers. Consider too the following examples of 'mixed manors' which varied greatly in their size and composition. The Manor of Great Dalston, in Cumberland, contained 40 freehold tenements, 114 copyholders, 40 customary tenants and 40 leaseholders for lives. (*Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 446 n. T.) The Barony of Graystock, in Cumberland, contained 106 freeholders and 257 customary tenants (*ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 405). The Manor of Linstock, in Cumberland, in the 1770s contained 10 freehold tenements, 90 customary tenements, and about 14 leaseholders [for lives?] (J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 454).
- 36 Consider, for instance, Winder township in the Parish of Lamplugh in Cumberland. This Parish, in 1794, was 'chiefly' composed of freeholders. By 1829, Parson and White report that it was all held by yeomen; but because they do not distinguish between statesmen who were customary

- tenants and those who were freeholders it is possible that some tenements were still 'estates of inheritance'. Several examples of manors which were enfranchised in whole or in part during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were given by W. Parson and W. White, *History, Directory, and Gazetteer of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, with that Part of the Lake District in Lancashire, Forming the Lordships of Furness and Cartmel Etc.* [Hereafter: *Directory*] (Leeds, 1829), pp. 204, 516–18, 567–9, 616–17, 627, 646, 653, and 683–4.
- 37 R. Williams, *The Long Revolution* (1961), pp. 120–31. In this regard it is interesting to note that my father, in 1963, was described on my English birth-certificate as a 'journeyman' electrician and not as a 'tradesman' which was the more current term for a skilled worker.
- 38 G. E. Mingay, *op. cit.*, p. 89. Cf. pp. 87–9. Richard Ferguson, the original editor of *The Victoria County History of Cumberland*, wrote, in 1894, that: 'In Westmorland and Cumberland . . . proprietors are called "estatesmen" or "statesmen". In these two counties a "yeoman" is used only of a horse soldier, or by a lawyer.' R. S. Ferguson, *A History of Westmorland* (1894), p. 291, n. 1.
- 39 J. D. Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 258.
- 40 *Ibid.*, pp. 268–71.
- 41 W. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 413.
- 42 Cf. C. Moor, 'The Old Statesman Families of Irton, Cumberland', *CW2*, 10 (1910), p. 148.
- 43 J. V. Beckett, 'The Peasant in England: a Case of Terminological Confusion', *loc. cit.*, pp. 113–23.
- 44 Marshall also refers to the statesmen as a self-sufficient 'peasantry', working within the constraints of a 'subsistence economy'. Many statesmen, however, were involved in the highly profitable sheep and cattle trade in the Lake District; and 'even the very modestly placed yeomen had a chance of forming a surplus of grain for sale'. In spite of this tension in his argument, Marshall concludes that 'the yeoman or husbandman' belonged to a 'basic or subsistence economy [which] demanded that he should be a mixed farmer, growing his own food and selling any surplus, just as he grew his own hemp and flax. His domestic organisation and farm work [therefore] rested upon family labour'. J. D. Marshall, 'The Domestic Economy of the Lakeland Yeoman, 1660–1749', *CW2*, 73, (1973), pp. 196–8, 212 and 199–200.
- 45 Cf. *Oxford English Dictionary* (1933), III, D-E, p. 12: 'Dalesman . . . [= *dale's man* from DALE.] A native or inhabitant of a dale; *esp.* of the dales of Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, and the adjacent northern counties of England'.
- 46 W. Wordsworth, *A Guide Through the District of the Lakes*, 5th edn (1835) in J. O. Hayden (ed.), *William Wordsworth. Selected Prose* (1988), pp. 38–9 and 60–1; cf. too pp. 18, 33–7.
- 47 Cf. J. Lucas, *England and Englishness* (1990), p. 135. Professor Lucas would disagree with my interpretation of the word 'peasantry', but I have culled the quotations from his book it seems only fair to acknowledge him as my source.
- 48 See the copy of Bewick's engraving in Kenneth MacLean, *Agrarian Age: a Background for Wordsworth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 47, Plate 6: 'A Bold Peasantry'.

- 49 Robert Anderson quoted in Alexander Craig Gibson, *The Old Man; or Ravings and Ramblings Round Conistone* (1854), p. 67.
- 50 William Wordsworth quoted in Jared Curtis (ed.), *The Fenwick Notes of William Wordsworth* (Bristol Classical Press, 1993), p. 20. Re. Westmorland, John Housman observed, in 1800, that: 'Flax and hemp are now rarely seen in this county, though, fifty years ago, they were sown by almost every cottager and statesman' (*idem, op. cit.*, pp. 98–9).
- 51 E. J. Evans and J. V. Beckett, 'Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness', in Joan Thirsk (ed.), *AHEW, V, 1640–1750, Pt i, Regional Farming Systems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 29.
- 52 W. Wordsworth, 'An Evening Walk' (comp. 1788–9; pub. 1793), ll. 128–67 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 80–1.
- 53 W. Wordsworth, *ibid.*, l. 337 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 87. Thomas Gray mentions, with regards to the Kent River, 'the thumping of huge hammers at an iron forge not far distant'. See his *Journal* entry, dated 9 October 1769, reprinted in Humphrey Jennings, *Pandaemonium 1660–1886: the Coming of the Machine as Seen by Contemporary Observers* (ed. by Mary-Lou Jennings and Charles Madge) (André Deutsch, 1985), doc. 54. See too W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (Text of 1805)*, Bk 8, ll. 498–510. pp. 139–40.
- 54 C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 334.
- 55 Cf. G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society* (1963), p. 98. 'Within half a mile of Carlisle', wrote John Housman in the early 1790s, land 'is [let] from 3L. to 5L.10s. per acre. In old enclosures, and pretty good soils at a greater distance, from 1L. to about 2L.10s.' '40 years ago', adds William Hutchinson, 'land which did not rent for more than 8s. per acre' was now let 'for 2L. to 3L.10s. per acre. "It was at that period in common field"'. W. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 678.
- 56 W. Wordsworth, 'Home at Grasmere' (comp. 1806; pub. 1888), l. 615 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 713.
- 57 W. Wordsworth, *A Guide Through the District of the Lakes* (1835) in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, p. 43.
- 58 W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (Text of 1805)*, Bk 9, ll. 218–26, p. 157.
- 59 F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (1963), pp. 114–17. Thompson used John Bateman's figures from the New Domesday Books of 1873 for his different tables of the Greater Gentry, Squires, and Small Landowners in England. For the 1883 edition see: John Bateman, *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (Intro. by David Spring) (Leicester University Press [Reprints], 1971). Re. the greater gentry, the counties of Lancashire (12 per cent), Westmorland (11 per cent), and Cumberland (10 per cent) were all considerably below the national average of 17 per cent. Re. the smallest estates of 1 to 100 acres, we find Cumberland (16 per cent), Lancashire (18 per cent), and Westmorland (16 per cent) were all above the national average of 12 per cent. Re. other groups of small landowners, we find estates of 100 to 300 acres were more common in Cumberland (22 per cent) and Westmorland (18 per cent) than in Lancashire (12 per cent), which was just below the national average of 12.5 per cent. Estates of 300 to 1000 acres were also more common in Cumberland (16 per cent) and Westmorland (16 per cent) than Lancashire (13 per cent), which fell just short of the national average of 14 per cent. These figures suggest that the Lake Counties were well endowed with squires and wealthy

- yeomen, whose social and economic interests were closely connected with the smaller landowners rather than a demographically scarce peerage and gentry. Thompson, for example, concluded that 'Cumberland and Westmorland formed a region in which the more genuinely agricultural yeomen groups were strong, although in Westmorland their independence of the higher orders[*in 1873*,] was limited by the presence of an above average quota of great estates [that is 300 to 1000 acres]' (*ibid.*, p. 118).
- 60 *Ibid.*, pp. 115–18.
- 61 W. Wordsworth, 'Home at Grasmere' (comp. 1806; pub. 1888), ll. 347–67 and 376–83 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 706–7.
- 62 William Wordsworth quoted in Jared Curtis, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–5.
- 63 J. Housman, *A Topographical Description of Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, and a Part of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (Carlisle, 1800), pp. 104–5.
- 64 W. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 516. Parson and White wrote, in 1829, that: 'Crime does not prevail so much here as in most other counties in this kingdom, and the inhabitants are generally of a peaceable disposition, though it has been erroneously said [by William Hutchinson?] that the Cumbrians "are uncommonly litigious" owing to the very minute manner in which their property is divided'. Their several comments on crime were probably based upon the lists of criminal convictions for 1810 and 1818 which they reprinted in their *Directory* of the Lake Counties in 1829. W. Parson and W. White, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
- 65 J. D. Marshall, 'Some Aspects of the Social History of 19th-Century Cumbria: (II) Crime, Police, Morals and the Countryman', *CW2*, 70 (1970), pp. 222–3; cf. pp. 233–4.
- 66 *Ibid.*, p. 223.
- 67 Dorothy Wordsworth's journal gives several examples of the Wordsworths' old-fashioned hospitality and alms-giving to the vagrants who came to their door or whom they met on the public roads. We shall see later that this paternal attitude was part of the 'moral economy' of Old Lakeland, which saw public relief as a customary right of the poor no less than a traditional duty of the rich. On the other hand, Dorothy and her brother were also aware of the reckless character of many travellers and vagrants. D. Wordsworth, *The Grasmere Journals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 2, 3, 9–10, 12, 31, 52, 95, *passim*. Cf. too J. Housman, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
- 68 *Ibid.*, p. 30.
- 69 'In 1822–3 the poor-rates in Cumberland came to L.58 540 and those of Westmorland to L.28 447, the former being about 55 times and the latter[, more significantly,] a little under 15 times the income from charities.' C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 293.
- 70 C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 291.
- 71 T. W. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 281. Wordsworth himself wrote of the neighbourliness of the farming classes in a footnote to the third edition of his famous guide book to the Lakes. The note may have provided a model for T. W. Thompson's own remarks about Hawkshead in the poet's childhood. 'One of the most pleasing characteristics of manners in secluded and thinly-populated districts, is a sense of the degree in which human happiness and comfort are dependent on the contingency of neighbourhood. This is implied by a rhyming adage common here, "Friends are far, when

- neighbours are nar*" (near). This mutual helpfulness is not confined to out-of-doors work; but is ready upon all occasions. Formerly, if a person became sick, especially the mistress of a family, it was usual for those of the neighbours who were more particularly connected with the party by amicable offices, to visit the house, carrying a present; this practice, which is by no means obsolete, is called *owning* the family, and is regarded as a pledge of a disposition to be otherwise serviceable in a time of disability and distress.' W. Wordsworth, *Guide to the Lakes*, 5th edn (ed. by E. De Selincourt) (London: Henry Frowde, 1906), p. 67, n. 1.
- 72 C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 291.
- 73 *Ibid.*, pp. 291 and 303.
- 74 F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor* ([Facsimile of the 1797 edition] London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd, 1966), Vol. 2, pp. 57–8. The passage from Eden's book might also remind the reader of George Crabbe's famous description of the typical poor house in the Rural South – with 'The moping idiot and the madman gay'. Wordsworth, however, objected to these lines on agrarian grounds. In a letter to John Wilson, dated 7 June 1802, he wrote (that): 'Persons in the lower classes of society have little or nothing [of] this [feeling of "loathing or disgust . . . at the sight of an Idiot"]': if an Idiot is born in a poor man's house, it must be taken care of] and cannot be boarded out, as it would be by gentle folks, or sent [to a] public or private receptacle for such unfortunate beings'. Poor people 'seeing frequently among their neighbours such objects, easily [forget what]ever there is of natural disgust about them, and have t[h]erefore a sane state, so that without pain or suffering they [perform] their duties towards them'. Perhaps he was thinking of the idiot son of Willy Park, a statesman who lived near the Wordsworths at Rydal. G. Crabbe, 'The Village' (1783) in W. H. Auden and N. H. Pearson (eds), *The Portable Romantic Poets: Blake to Poe* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1978), p. 70. William Wordsworth to John Wilson, letter quoted in A. G. Hill (ed.), *Letters of William Wordsworth. A New Selection* (1984), p. 53. See the next paragraph for more information about the Park family.
- 75 William Wordsworth to Thomas Poole, letter dated 9 April 1801, in E. De Selincourt, *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth, Volume I, The Early Years 1787–1805*, 2nd rev. edn (1967) [= Vol. 1], p. 266.
- 76 William Wordsworth to Richard Sharp, letter dated Grasmere, 13 April 1808, in E. De Selincourt (ed.), *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth, Volume II, The Middle Years, Part I, 1806–1811*, 2nd rev. edn (1969) [= Vol. 2], p. 211.
- 77 William Wordsworth to Francis Wrangham, letter dated 17 April 1808, in E. De Selincourt, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 213–14.
- 78 Dorothy Wordsworth to Catherine Clarkson, letter dated 28 March 1808, in E. De Selincourt, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 205–6.
- 79 W. Wordsworth, 'The Brothers' (1800), ll. 201–2 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 407–8.
- 80 W. Wordsworth, *ibid.*, ll. 344–5 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 411.
- 81 William Wordsworth to Francis Wrangham, *op. cit.*, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 2, Pt. i, p. 214.
- 82 Cf. P. Deane, *The First Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 11–13.

- 83 Cf. J. V. Beckett, 'English Landownership in the Later Seventeenth- and Eighteenth Centuries: the Debate and the Problems', *loc. cit.*, p. 572.
- 84 R. W. Emerson, *English Traits* (1956), in M. Van Doren (ed.), *The Portable Emerson* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1974), p. 403. Perhaps he was thinking of the Yorker family of Lowther Parish in Westmorland, whose forebears came to England with William the Conqueror, and had 'been park-keepers at Lowther upwards of 300 years' (W. Parson and W. White, *op. cit.*, p. 594). Or maybe he had heard of the Tyson family of Ravenglass in Cumberland, who farmed the main stock of Lord Muncaster's famous breed of Herdwick Sheep. Their forebears were said to 'have lived in this sequestered spot above four hundred years' (J. Bailey and G. Culley, *op. cit.*, p. 16). Unfortunately, I have not found any evidence that such families and events were discussed in Emerson's conversations with Wordsworth in 1833 and 1848. See Ralph Waldo Emerson, *English Traits* (London: George G. Harrap and Co., n.d.), pp. 12–16 (re. Emerson's visit to Rydal Mount on 28 August 1833); and E. M. Tilton (ed.), *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Vol. 7 (1807–44) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), pp. 51–2 (editor's note re. Emerson's visit to Wordsworth's home in late February, 1848).
- 85 William Wordsworth to Charles James Fox, letter dated 14 January 1801, in A. G. Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–3.
- 86 William Wordsworth to Thomas Poole, letter dated 9 April 1801, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 322.
- 87 W. Wordsworth, 'Michael' (1800), ll. 361–71 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 465.
- 88 A. Macfarlane, *The Origins of English Individualism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), *passim*; *idem*, *The Culture of Capitalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), esp. Ch. 1; *idem*, *A Guide to English Historical Records* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), *passim*; and *idem*, 'The Myth of the Peasantry; Family and Economy in a Northern Parish', in R. M. Smith (ed.), *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 333–49. For a recent debate over the methods and sources used by Macfarlane, see: *PP*, No. 146 Feb. (1995): 'Debate: the Family Land-Bond in England: Comment' by R. W. Hoyle, pp. 151–73; and 'Reply' by Govind Sreenivasan, pp. 174–87.
- 89 C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 331–2. A similar conclusion was reached by Dr Charles Moor in his major study of the statesmen families of Irton in Cumberland between c.1575 and 1775, which he took to be fairly representative of other parishes in the area. By carefully listing the names of statesmen, who had left wills and inventories for the probate register, he found considerable evidence that several of the yeomen families involved had moved 'from one part of the parish to another'. Very few, indeed, were 'found always in the same place' and almost all of the specific locations studied showed 'a succession of different names'. He therefore concluded 'that their families cannot be clearly traced through two centuries without reference to the neighbouring parishes. If they moved at all, it is unlikely that they confined their removals within the borders of one parish'. Charles Moor, 'The Old Statesmen Families of Irton, Cumberland', *CW2*, 10 (1910), pp. 148 and 195–8. On the other hand, even William Blamire, a hard-headed advocate of enclosure, remarked candidly that: 'A considerable portion of the property' in Cumberland and

- Westmorland, 'is copyhold, and I have frequently seen admittances from the time of Queen Elizabeth in the same family name'. See the 'Select Committee on Agriculture with Minutes of Evidence', *BPP*, 5 (1833), p. 309.
- 90 T. W. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 201–2. The local historian referred to, by Thompson, was M. L. Armitt.
- 91 At least I am reminded here of Judith Richard's approach to Golden Age theories: 'Throughout the ages the idea of community has inhabited the imagination as ideal or mythical presence; it is not less real on that account and, varying with time and place, has exercised more or less importance in giving meaning or shape to human experience, to the ways in which people perceive the world in which they live. Because the ideal and the actual have interacted, both must be studied together in their interaction; because they are different and because their interaction is variable, each must also be studied separately'. J. Richards, 'Unpublished Seminar Paper', LaTrobe University, Victoria, (1990): a copy in the author's possession.
- 92 The main issues are discussed in the following books and articles: T. S. Ashton, *The Early Industrial Revolution 1760–1850* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), *passim*. J. V. Beckett, 'English Landownership in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: the Debate and the Problems', in *loc. cit.*, pp. 567–81. *Idem*, 'The Decline of the Small Landowner in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England: Some Regional Considerations', *loc. cit.*, pp. 97–111. J. H. Clapham, *An Economic History of Modern Britain: the Early Railway Age: 1820–1850* (Cambridge University Press, 1967, *passim*). C. Clay, 'Landlords and Estate Management in England', in J. Thirsk (ed.), *AHEW*, 5, 1640–1750, Pt II, *Agrarian Change* (1985), Ch. 14. P. Deane, *op. cit.*, *passim*. P. Mantoux, *op. cit.*, Ch. 3. G. E. Mingay, 'The Size of Farms in the Eighteenth Century', *ECHR*, 2nd ser. 14, No. 3 (1962), pp. 469–88. J. H. Porter, 'The Development of Rural Society', in G. E. Mingay (ed.), *AHEW*, 6, 1750–1850 (1989), Ch. 9. The general rate and size of the small holders' decline is discussed in works dealing with the land tax assessments. See the second article mentioned by Beckett; E. Davies, 'The Small Landowner, 1780–1832, in light of the Land Tax Assessments', *ECHR*, 1 (1929), pp. 87–113; G. E. Mingay, 'The Land Tax Assessment and the Small Landowner', *ECHR*, 2nd ser.. 17. No. 2 (1964), pp. 381–8; and the celebrated lectures on the topic by A. H. Johnson, *The Disappearance of the Small Landowner* (1910), *passim*.
- 93 Cf. D. Simpson, *Wordsworth's Historical Imagination. The Poetry of Displacement* (1987), p. 87.
- 94 J. D. Marshall and C. A. Dyhouse, 'Social Transition in Kendal and Westmorland, c. 1760–1860', *NH*, 12 (1976), p. 140 incl. n. 62.
- 95 See the table composed by F. W. Garnett in his book *Westmorland Agriculture 1800–1900* (Kendal: Titus Wilson, Publisher, 1912), p. 15; cf. too p. 13.
- 96 J. Bateman, *op. cit.*, p. 503.
- 97 Garnett seems to rely upon the following works for his figures of the statesmen in Westmorland: W. Parson and W. White, *Directory* (1829); [-]. Mannex, *History, Topography, etc., of Westmorland* (1849); and [-]. Bulmer, *History, Topography, etc., of Westmorland* (1885), F. W. Garnett, *op. cit.*, p. xii.
- 98 W. Parson and W. White, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
- 99 C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 335.
- 100 J. D. Marshall and C. A. Dyhouse, *op. cit.*, p. 140, n. 63.

- 101 J. Bateman, *op. cit.*, p. 503.
- 102 *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle, Volume XXXVI for the Year M.DCC.LXVI* [1766], (London).
- 103 Cf. K. MacLean, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 and 101–2. V. G. Kiernan, *op. cit.*, p. 182, n. 57. J. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
- 104 According to David Simpson, Wordsworth occupied 'the classic bourgeois site, an unstable and amorphous middle ground' of dependence, which disabled him 'from validating any orthodox social role in a whole hearted manner'. The 'insecure poet' of the war period could therefore no longer be 'at one with the rural "owner-occupiers" who', in his eyes, 'were economically and spiritually "their own upholders, to themselves/Encouragement, and energy, and will"'. D. Simpson, *op. cit.*, pp. 126 and 155. Cf. W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (Text of 1805)*, Bk 13, ll. 262–3 p. 225.
- 105 G. E. Mingay, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
- 106 E. P. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 242–4. According to Karl Marx, 'The expropriation of the agricultural producer, of the peasant, his separation from the soil, is the basis of the whole process [of primitive accumulation of capital in the formative years of urban and industrial society]'. Nevertheless, he wrongly concluded that the process received its 'classical form' in the Enclosure Movement in England. Karl Marx, extract from *Das Kapital* (1867), Vol. II reprinted in T. B. Bottomore and M. Rubel (eds), *Karl Marx. Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy* (tr. by T. B. Bottomore), (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963), Part Three, Ch. 1, 'The Origins and Development of Capitalism', pp. 142–51 (esp. pp. 144–5).
- 107 J. Bailey and G. Culley, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
- 108 Richard Watson quoted in Andrew Pringle, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
- 109 Cf. A. Pringle, *ibid.*, p. 21; and J. Housman, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
- 110 *Ibid.*, pp. 26–8.
- 111 *Ibid.*, pp. 26–8.
- 112 W. H. R. Curtler, *The Enclosure and Redistribution of our Land* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920), p. 228.
- 113 Figures taken from 'Appendix D', in E. C. K. Gonner, *Common Land and Enclosure* (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd, 1966 [1st pub. 1912]), pp. 278–81.
- 114 P. Deane, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
- 115 Figures taken from B. R. Mitchell, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 235.
- 116 J. Bailey and G. Culley, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
- 117 J. H. Clapham, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–100. Consider, for instance, the testimony of William Blamire to the 'Select Committee on Agriculture', in June 1833: The 'parties have had large families, and they have, from a miscalculation of their real situation, been induced to leave to their children larger fortunes than ought to have been done, and to saddle the oldest son with the payment of a sum which it was impossible he could provide for. This has been the case to a very great degree, particularly where the lands so devised were lands of inferior quality. I know some remarkable instances where parents have left a provision for younger children out of estates which have not been sold during the continuance of high prices, and which have fallen so much within their calculations as to leave to the eldest son hardly anything'. 'Report from the Select Committee on Agriculture with Minutes of Evidence', *BPP*, 5 (1933), pp. 309–10.

- 118 C. M. L. Bouch, *op. cit.*, p. 342.
- 119 C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–7. Cf. too the account of the death and birth rates in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries given by M. W. Flinn, *Origins of the Industrial Revolution* (London: Longmans, Green and Co Ltd, 1966), Ch. 2.
- 120 J. D. Marshall, 'The Domestic Economy of the Lakeland Yeomen, 1660–1749', p. 213.
- 121 W. Wordsworth, 'The Brothers', (1800), ll. 214–15 and 'Michael', (1800), ll. 374–9 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 407–8, and 465.
- 122 Cf. J. V. Beckett, 'The Decline of the Small Landowner in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England: Some Regional Considerations', p. 104. J. V. Beckett and E. J. Evans, *loc. cit.*, pp. 24–5. Cf. too the fate of Wordsworth's Quaker friend, Thomas Wilkinson of Yanwath: William Wordsworth quoted in Jared Curtis, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–9.
- 123 W. Wordsworth, 'Chatsworth! thy stately mansion, and the pride' (comp. 1830; pub. 1835) in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 695–6.
- 124 W. Wordsworth, *A Guide Through the District of the Lakes* (1835) in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, pp. 60–1.
- 125 C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 236.
- 126 C. M. L. Bouch, *op. cit.*, pp. 242–3.
- 127 W. Wordsworth, 'Song for the Spinning Wheel – Founded upon a Belief Prevalent among the Pastoral Vales of Westmoreland' (comp. between 1806 and 1812; pub. 1820); 'Grief, thou hast lost an ever ready friend' (comp. between 1807 and 1814; pub. 1819); and 'Through Cumbrian wilds, in many a mountain cove' (comp. between 1806 and 1814; pub. 1896). These poems can be found in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 732, 737, and 733.
- 128 C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 267; and W. Parson and W. White, *op. cit.*, p. 615.
- 129 William Wordsworth to Sir George Beaumont, letter dated 21 August 1806, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 2 Pt. i p. 76.
- 130 W. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 371.
- 131 It is likely that 'the national rate of growth was retarded, though not actually checked, by the French Wars'. P. Deane, *op. cit.*, p. 240. Cf. too E. Halevy, *op. cit.*, pp. 311–13.
- 132 E. J. Evans and J. V. Beckett, *op. cit.*, p. 12. J. Thirsk, *op. cit.*, p. 81. A. Pringle, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–4. Cf. J. Bailey and G. Culley, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
- 133 R. S. Ferguson, *A History of Westmorland* (1894), p. 167.
- 134 *Ibid.*, pp. 263–4. 'Kendal Cottons' were, in fact, coarse woollens; the term is supposed to be a corruption of 'coatings', to which use they were applied: *ibid.*, pp. 165–6.
- 135 William Wordsworth quoted in Jared Curtis, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
- 136 D. Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
- 137 Cf. J. V. Beckett, 'The Decline of the Small Landowner in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England: Some Regional Considerations', p. 106.
- 138 C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
- 139 See, respectively, D. Simpson, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–8 and C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
- 140 C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *ibid.*, p. 237; C. M. L. Bouch, *op. cit.*, p. 343; and G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History: a Survey of Six Centuries [from] Chaucer to Queen Victoria* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1942), p. 375 n. 1.

- 141 G. M. Trevelyan, *ibid.*, p. 275 n. 1. Certainly Trevelyan's statement sounds like a *paraphrase* of Wordsworth's guide book: 'In the Lake District, Wordsworth observed that between 1770 and 1820 the number of the freehold "statesmen" was halved and the size of their holdings doubled: the little farms were amalgamated, because they proved insufficient to support families when the invention of the "spinning jenny" concentrated spinning in factories and so took away profitable work from the peasant's wife and children. Thus the change was not in that district due to enclosure, for the dales had long before been covered by a network of stone walls which the small freeholders themselves had erected round their own fields'. It is ironic that Trevelyan's remarks have been used by other historians to prove the opposite point. For his part, Trevelyan might well have misunderstood the poet's views of the 'statesmen' as a compound of several groups of small landowners in the area, and not just freeholders; but until Wordsworth's statement can be tracked down to a specific source this view of the topic must remain more speculation than proof.

2 Land Tenure: a Lake District Survey

- 1 In his classic survey of the evolution of the English landscape, W. G. Hoskins wrote that: 'The facts of topography, soils and climate explain much [about the appearance of the countryside], but beyond them lie purely historical facts like the laws of property and inheritance. The peculiar field-patterns and other features of the Kent and Norfolk landscapes can probably only be explained in the last resort by the social and legal history that lie behind them; and they still await their interpreter'. (W. G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1970 [1st pub. 1955]), pp. 146–7.) The reader might well consider the present chapter as a social and legal explanation of the 'peculiar field-patterns and other features' of the Lake District landscape in Wordsworth's time.
- 2 J. D. Marshall, "'Statesmen" in Cumbria: the Vicissitudes of an Expression', *CW2*, 72 (1972), pp. 258–9.
- 3 See the Introduction for further details.
- 4 A. Pringle, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–1. Cf. too J. Housman, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, and 67–8, re. the statesmen's independence, domestic competence, and close relations with family members and farm servants.
- 5 D. Wu, *Wordsworth's Reading 1770–1799* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 173–4 and 183–4. Wordsworth's interest in Fox as a whig statesman might have arisen from his possible use of the Stowey Book Society in 1797–8. Among the works listed by Duncan Wu in this regard were: C. J. Fox, *A Letter from the Right Honourable Charles James Fox, to the Worthy and Independent Electors of the City and Liberty of Westminster* (1793) and *idem*, 'Fox's Letter to the Electors of Westminster' (*ibid.*, p. 174).
- 6 S. Gill, *William Wordsworth: a Life* (1989), p. 80.
- 7 The Hammonds gave examples of Fox's support of several policies which were favourable to the rural labourers of the South. J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Village Labourer* (1978 reprint), pp. 41, 82, 87, 140, 151–2.
- 8 A. Pringle, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
- 9 Cf. W. Parson and W. White, *op. cit.*, p. 26; and [-]. Mannix and [-]. Whellan, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–6. Cf. too J. Housman, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

- 10 J. Bailey and G. Culley, *op. cit.*, p. 11; and J. Housman, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–5.
- 11 I use the words ‘semi-feudal exactions’ on account of the famous Statute of 12 Charles II, c.24, which ended feudal tenures, such as knight’s service, but retained certain customary rents, fines, heriots, and suits of court. Cf. W. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 40, and T. West, *op. cit.* (1774 edn), pp. 144–7. Cf. F. E. Huggett, *The Land Question and European Society since 1650* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1975), pp. 69–70: copyhold tenures were continued until 1925. According to Annette Bagot, these modified tenant-right customs were not abolished or assimilated until the passing of the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1948. A. Bagot, ‘Mr. Gilpin and Manorial Customs’, *CW2*, 62 (1962), p. 225.
- 12 We have dealt with the second assumption in the previous chapter.
- 13 Lord Ellenborough’s decision in the Case of Doe d Reay v. Huntington and others, quoted in Wilson Butler, ‘The Customs of Tenant Right Tenures of the Northern Counties, with Particulars of those in the District of Furness’, *CW2*, 26 (1925), pp. 321–2. See p. 322 of Butler’s essay for similar court decisions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Lord Ellenborough was the son of Bishop Law of Carlisle.
- 14 See note 18 of the present chapter.
- 15 *VCH Cumb.*, Vol. 1, pp. 326–7. The editors (R. S. Ferguson and J. Wilson) declare, on p. 321, that ‘when we touch on tenure by cornage or the payment of noutgeld we are at the roots of that historic burden on the Border counties which afterwards grew into the Border service, that is to say, that the military liability of freeholders in Cumberland was confined to the defence of their own lands’. In consequence, they were excused from giving money to the scutages for the general defence of the country (*ibid.*, pp. 324–5).
- 16 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 324. Re. Border service, see also pp. 325–7 incl. n. 1, pp. 329–30. Cf. J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 14 and 21. Cf. too W. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 19–20, where Border service is said to be ‘totally unconnected with other military service’; and C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *A Short Economic and Social History of the Lake Counties 1500–1830* (1961), pp. 11–12.
- 17 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 318–19. Cf. J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 219, re. the Court of Chancery’s confirmation of the customs of the Manor of Burgh in c.1674. F. W. Maitland studied a similar case from Cumberland, about a thirteenth-century tenant who held lands ‘by cornage’ and was ‘bound to follow the king against the Scots, leading the van when the army’ was ‘advancing’ and ‘bringing up the rear during its return’. He concluded that this Border service looked ‘like an ancient trait, for at the time of the [Norman] Conquest there were men on the Welsh march who were bound to a similar service, to occupy the post of honour when the army marched into Wales or out of Wales’. (Canon Bouch, however, concluded that the two types of Border service, in England were distinct, at least in Norman and Tudor times.) F. W. Maitland, ‘Northumbrian Tenures’, *EHR*, 5 (1890), p. 629.
- 18 Sir Charles Elton, *Custom and Tenant Right* (1882), p. 25 quoted in Richard S. Ferguson, *A History of Westmorland* (1894), p. 128. The following account of the difference between copyhold tenure and tenant right is based largely upon pp. 127–8 of Ferguson’s admirable book. Cf. S. B. Chrimes, *English Constitutional History*, 4th edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 60–6.

- 19 R. S. Ferguson, *ibid.*, p. 128.
- 20 Judge William Blackstone quoted in William Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 38–9.
- 21 Cf. R. S. Ferguson, *ibid.*, p. 127, and C. M. L. Bouch, *Prelates and People of the Lake Counties* (1948), p. 18. Cf. J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 40–60, re. a report, composed in 1572, for Queen Elizabeth, about the nature of tenant right in the Marquis Fee of the Barony of Kendal in Westmorland: the said tenants had ‘neither copy nor other evidence to show for their title’. Contrast the fate of customary tenants in the manors of Wark and Harbottle, in Northumberland, during the 1620s, who lost their traditional status because they could not prove their title by means of court rolls or other documents: S. J. Watts, ‘Tenant-Right in Early Seventeenth-Century Northumberland’, *NH*, 6 (1971), p. 79.
- 22 C. M. L. Bouch, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
- 23 Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 20–2.
- 24 R. S. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 127–8. Cf. W. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 36–40: Cumberland estates, held in villeinage, ‘were under a species of tenure, neither strictly Feodal, Norman, or Saxon; but mixed and compounded of them all’ (*ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 37–48).
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 128. Cf. T. West, *The Antiquities of Furness*, 2nd edn (Ulverston, 1805), p. 169, re. the common features of tenant right in Low Furness, and pp. 155–6. See too J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 40–60 re. customary services, such as Border duty, in the Marquis Fee in the Barony of Kendal. Cf. W. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 124–5, re. an inquisition of 31 Elizabeth I, which records the different tasks performed by the customary tenants, farmers and cottagers.
- 26 C. M. L. Bouch, *op. cit.*, p. 21. In pre-Reformation times the tenants of Furness abbey held their estates by means of *pure villeinage*: T. West, *op. cit.*, pp. 155–6, and pp. 123–4. (Likewise William Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 60, noted that the tenants of the priory of Lanercost also surrendered their estates in courts – as a species of copyhold(?).) In consequence, Wordsworth’s reliance upon West as a source for his book, *A Guide Through the District of the Lakes* (1820/1835), might have led him at times to regard tenant right as a species of copyhold in the region of Furness; but that was a reasonable conclusion to draw from the Signory’s ‘feudal’ foundation and charter no less than its subsequent history, which fits into the pattern described by Canon Bouch.
- 27 The classic account of the court case was written by J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 51–9. Re. the Proclamation of 1620, see pp. 53–4. A shrewd modern account of the court case and its significance is found in S. J. Watts, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–8.
- 28 The Proclamation was partly compromised by the willingness of several landlords, including the Prince of Wales, to compound with their tenants for a clear confirmation of their tenant right estates and customs. J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 51–2 re. the Prince of Wales; p. 501 re. Sir John Lowther of Lowther; and *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 479 re. Sir Robert Graham of Eske.
- 29 Star Chamber’s decision quoted in Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 58.
- 30 J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 45–6 re. the rental and survey ordered by Elizabeth I, in 1572, for the Marquis Fee of the Barony of Kendal.

- Cf. pp. 48–9, re. the tenant right customs of the Marquis and Richmond Fees when they came into the Queen's possession in the sixteenth year of her reign. See pp. 525–8, re. a detailed account of the tenant right customs for the parish of Ravenstonedale; *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 17 re. the Duchy court of Lancaster, which settled the customs of the Queen's tenants, who had once belonged to the abbey of Furness; pp. 183–8 re. the inquiry made by the Queen's commissioners into the customs and tenure of the manor and demense of Holm Cultram. T. West, *op. cit.*, pp. 155–6, noted that tenant right estate was a 'precarious' tenure in the whole Reformation period.
- 31 J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 45–6. It is interesting to note, in this respect, that F. W. Maitland arrived at a similar conclusion on the evolution of tenant right estate in the early feudal period: speaking of these tenures in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, he declared that: 'In Northumbria we seem to see the new tenure by knight's service, that is by heavy cavalry service, superimposed upon other tenures which have been, and still are in a certain sort, military. In Northumbria [by which he meant the five northernmost counties] there are barons and knights with baronies and knights' fees; but there are also, thegns and drengs holding in thegnage and drengage, doing the king's *utware* [or foreign service], taking the post of honour and of danger when there is fighting to be done against the Scots. But as with the Lancashire thegns of [the] Domesday Book, so with these thegns and drengs of a somewhat later day, military service is not the chief feature of their tenure – in a remote past it may have been no feature of their tenure, rather their duty as men than their duty as tenants – they pay substantial rents, they help the king or their other lord in his ploughing and his reaping, they must ride on his errands [and so on]', F. W. Maitland, *op. cit.*, p. 632. In consequence, he believed 'that many of the [servile] tenures in drengage went to swell the mass of "customary freeholds" which appear[ed] in the north of England' (*ibid.*, p. 631). Nevertheless, we have seen much social and economic evidence against his 'legal' conclusion, at least, with regard to the Lake Counties.
- 32 S. J. Watts, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
- 33 Cf. W. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 132–3, re. the customs of Gilsland, where they held 'their lands in almost as base a tenure as the ancient villeinage'. Although they were comparatively rare in the Border counties, copyholders were found in considerable numbers in some Cumbrian manors. J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 311 re. the manor of Dalston; p. 345 re. the parish of Sowerby. See [–]. Mannix and [–]. Whellan, *op. cit.*, pp. 219–20 re. the manor of Scotby; p. 268 re. Heskett-in-the-Forest; pp. 464–5 re. the parish of Holme Cultram. All (but the last?) of these places were held by great landlords such as the Bishop of Carlisle, Lord Cavendish (6th Duke of Devonshire) and Rowland Edmund Stephenson, Esq.
- 34 J. Housman, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
- 35 W. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 38.
- 36 Cf. *VCH Cumb.*, Vol. 2, pp. 268–9 and 305. The parish of Kendal, in Westmorland, was no less famous than Carlisle, in Cumberland, for the bravery of its bowman:

These are the bows of Kentdale bold,
Who fierce will fight and never flee.

- See the 'Battle of Flodden' quoted in Richard S. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 164.
- 37 J. L. Kirby, 'Border Service, 1662–1757', *CW2*, 48 (1949), pp. 125–9. Cf. R. S. Ferguson, *loc. cit.*, Ch. XVII, pp. 249–79; and *idem*, *A History of Cumberland* (London: Elliott Stock, 1890), Ch. XIX, pp. 269–76.
- 38 W. Wordsworth, 'The Solitary Reaper' (comp. 1805; pub. 1807), l. 20 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 657. Dorothy Wordsworth quoted in Mary Moorman, *William Wordsworth: a Biography* (1957) Vol. 1, p. 30. William Wordsworth, *The Excursion* (1814), Bk 6, ll. 392–521 in J. O. Hayden, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 197–200.
- 39 D. Wu, *op. cit.*, *passim*; *idem*, 'The Hawkshead School Library in 1788: a Catalogue', *CW2*, 91 (1993), pp. 173–97. See too J. Burton, *Catalogue of the Varied and Valuable Historical, Theological, and Miscellaneous Library of the Late Venerated Poet-Laureate, William Wordsworth, Esquire, D.L.C.* (Preston[?], 1859), *passim*. (Hereafter: C. Reprinted by permission of the Wordsworth Trust.) It is not known when, or even if, Wordsworth read all of the books in his library, but most of the works listed in this footnote were either read in whole or in part; at least, their contents have been observed to some extent in the poet's letters, conversation, poetry or prose. The young Wordsworth was familiar with the following works on local and regional history: Dr John Brown, *A Description of the Lake at Keswick* (1767); James Clark, *Survey of the Lakes* (1789); Sir Frederick Eden, *State of the Poor* (1797); William Gilpin, *Observations on the Lakes*, 2 Vols (1786); Thomas Gray, *Journal of the Lakes* (1775); John Housman, *Guide to the Lakes* (1800) (C., p. 19); William Hutchinson, *Excursion to the Lakes* (1774); Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, 2 Vols (1777); George Ridpath, *The Border History of England and Scotland* (1776); Thomas West, *A Guide to the Lakes* (1794) – Wordsworth owned a copy of the 1807 edition; *idem*, *The Antiquities of Furness* (1774) – Wordsworth owned a copy of the 1805 edition; Thomas Dunham Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven* (1805). Wordsworth also read a large number of legal, travel and antiquarian books which were relevant to the topics of tenant right estates, Border service, and domestic economy in the North of England, including: William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 4 Vols (1768) [C., p. 2.]; William Nicolson (the Bishop of Carlisle), *Border Laws* (1705) = *Leges Marchiarum* (1249?) [C., p. 2.]; Sir Matthew Hale, *History of the Common Law* (1779) [C., p. 6.]; William Woodfall, *The Law of Landlord and Tenant* (1804) [C., p. 11.]; Edward Baines, *History and Directory of the County Palatine of Lancaster*, 2 Vols (1822; 1823) [C., p. 12.]; *Guide to Perthshire*, *History of Glasgow*, and other guide books [C., p. 14.]; W. Parson and W. White, *History and Directory of Durham and Northumberland*, 2 Vols (1827) [C., p. 16]; Stephen Oliver (jnr), *Rambles in Northumberland and on the Scottish borders [sic.]* (1835) [C., p. 16.]; John Close, *Book of the Chronicles of Westmorland*, Vol. 1 (1742) [C., p. 16.]; Giles Jacob, *Law Dictionary* (1736) [C., p. 37.]; Andrew Fletcher(?), *The Freeholder – Political Essays* (1739) [C., p. 7.].

Re: *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books* (1965):

Edward Baines – 1822, 1823 [Vol. 10, p. 134]

John Housman – 1800 [Vol. 107, p. 619]

A. Fletcher of Saltoun – [Cf. Vol. 74, pp. 333–4]

N.B. According to Duncan Wu, Wordsworth read only William Hutchinson's

- early work, an *Excursion to the Lakes* (1774). It is possible, however, that he also read the same author's *History of the County of Cumberland*, published in 1794. At least, the copy of this work which is kept in the State Library of Victoria (Australia) lists Richard Wordsworth of Whitehaven as one of its subscribers. According to Mark L. Reed, Wordsworth and his sister stayed for several weeks at Whitehaven in that year. If the book was already published and printed in Carlisle and received by Richard Wordsworth's family at Whitehaven, or his son's family at Branthwaite, before the middle of that year, it is possible that William Wordsworth read it – in whole or in part – between c.mid-May and 18 June in 1794. Cf. M. L. Reed, *Wordsworth. The Chronology of the Early Years 1770–1799* (1967), p. 154.
- 40 Cf. W. Hutchinson, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 429–36 re. the influence of the picturesque tradition on his description of Ullswater, in Cumberland.
- 41 J. R. Nabholz, 'Wordsworth's "Guide to the Lakes" and the Picturesque Tradition', *MP*, 61 (1963–4), pp. 289–90.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 294.
- 43 M. Bloch, 'Mediaeval Inventions', in M. Bloch (ed.), *Land and Work in Modern Europe* (tr. by J. E. Anderson) (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), p. 170.
- 44 Cf. M. Bloch, *French Rural Society. An Essay on its Basic Characteristics* (tr. by J. Sondheim) (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), p. 50.
- 45 W. Wordsworth, *A Guide Through the District of the Lakes* (1835) in W. J. B. Owen and J. W. Smyser (eds), *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, Vol. 2, pp. 194–207 Section Two: 'Aspect of the Country as Affected by its Inhabitants'.
- 46 T. West, *The Antiquities of Furness*, 2nd edn (1805), p. 23. Cf. the 'Preface to' the edition of 1774, pp. XXIII–XXIV.
- 47 *Ibid.*, p. 96. West argues that the Agreement between Alexander (the abbot of Furness) and his customary tenants in 17 Henry VIII was 'A Key to the ancient state of the tenants in Furness'. The district contained some copyholders in Wordsworth's time (p. 124) but most were customary tenants with estates of inheritance (pp. 123–4). Cf. pp. 155–6, re. the three types of tenants in feudal times, namely: (1) free homagers; (2) copyholders; and (3) customary tenants.
- 48 The editors of the *VCH Cumb.*, Vol. 1, pp. 332–3, record that *drengrage* was rare in that county but was considerable in some parts of Westmorland. Nonetheless, this base tenure, like other tenures in the Border counties (with the exception of tenure by knight's service), was 'free from royal service beyond their own borders'. Cf. C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *op.cit.*, pp. 12–14.
- 49 J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 135. The authors continue: 'So where a man has two tenements, he serves the office of constable [for] two years; or if he has half a tenement, he joins with another who has also half a tenement, for the finding a constable for one year. And so for the rest in like proportion. One of which ancient military tenements, at the present improved value, may be deemed to be worth about 10L. a year'. Cf. W. Hutchinson, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 38.
- 50 Old fell-side enclosures were called 'quilletts' in the Lake Counties. Cf. H. R. Trevor-Roper, 'Fernand Braudel, the *Annales*, and the Mediterranean', *JMH*, 44 (1972), pp. 468–79. This essay deals with the topic of 'total history'.

- 51 Cf. J. Langton, 'The Industrial Revolution and the Regional Geography of England', *TIBG*, New Series, 9, No. 1 (1984), pp. 147–8 re. the significance of 'county communities'.
- 52 W. Wordsworth, *A Guide Through the District of the Lakes* (1835) in J. O. Hayden (ed.), *William Wordsworth. Selected Prose* (1988), pp. 43–4.
- 53 W. Wordsworth, *ibid.*, pp. 37–8.
- 54 See, respectively: W. Hutchinson, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 516. T. West, *op.cit.* (1774 edn), p. XVII. J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 527–8.
- 55 Cf. too the following examples of Old Cumberland life: the parish of Ullswater by William Gilpin, in W. Hutchinson, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 446–7; the Parishes of Buttermere and Barrowside by Thomas West and William Gilpin, in W. Hutchinson, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 127–9; the Parish of Loweswater by John Housman, in W. Hutchinson, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 135; and the Parish of Stapleton by W. Hutchinson, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 561. A systematic account of the customs and manners of the Lake Counties is found in John Housman, *op.cit.*, pp. 67–80.
- 56 J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 527–8.
- 57 M. Osborne, 'Wordsworth's "Borderers" and the Landscape of Penrith', *CW2*, 76 (1976), pp. 144–58. Cf. too note 49 above.
- 58 T. B. Macaulay, *History of England*, Vol. 1 (1849) in *The Works of Lord Macaulay*, Vol. 1 (ed. by Lady Trevelyan) (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1866), Ch. III, p. 258.
- 59 C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *op.cit.*, p. 187.
- 60 W. Wordsworth, *The Excursion* (1814), Bk 7, l. 352 in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 231.
- 61 Whittle-gate was a way of providing poor parishes with a clergyman, school-master, or both. Instead of a stipend for his own support, the poor curate received a small amount of money, several payments in kind (for example, a suit of clothes, two pairs of shoes and one of clogs), and lived with each family, in the parish, for several days or weeks every year. Since he took his knife (or 'whittle') with him, the practice was known as 'whittle-gate'. Re. the custom of 'whittle-gate' and the old institution of 'Readers' in the Lake District, see: C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *op.cit.*, pp. 183–92. Cf. W. Hutchinson, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 119–20.
- 62 C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *op.cit.*, pp. 186–7. See too W. Wordsworth, *Memoir of the Rev. Robert Walker* (1820) in J. O. Hayden, *William Wordsworth. Selected Prose* (1988), pp. 127–36.
- 63 W. Wordsworth, *The Excursion* (1814), Bk 7, ll. 232–9 (see too ll. 240–360) in J. O. Hayden, *The Poems* (1977), Vol. 2, pp. 230–1.
- 64 C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *op.cit.*, pp. 186–7.
- 65 A. C. Gibson, *The Old Man; Or Ravings and Ramblings Round Coniston* (1854), p. 57.
- 66 C. Wordsworth (jnr), *Memoirs of William Wordsworth* (1851), Vol. 1, pp. 42, 174–5, and 177–8. Cf. C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *op.cit.*, pp. 195–202; and J. H. Porter, 'The Development of Rural Society', in G. E. Mingay (ed.), *loc.cit.*, pp. 891–906.
- 67 J. Housman, *op.cit.*, p. 105.
- 68 William Wordsworth quoted in Jared Curtis, *The Fenwick Notes of William Wordsworth* (1993), pp. 64–5.
- 69 William Wordsworth quoted in Jared Curtis, *ibid.*, p. 65.

- 70 For example: The Rev. Alexander Naughley (Threlkeld) [W. Hutchinson, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 422–3; cf. W. Parson and W. White, *op.cit.*, pp. 477–8; and [-]. Mannix and [-]. Whellan, *op.cit.*, pp. 202–3]. The Rev. Mr Mattison (Patterdale) [W. Hutchinson, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 431–4]. The Rev. Josiah Relph [*ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 415–19]. The Rev. Thomas Denton [*ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 419]. Richard ‘Happy Dick’ Dixon (Orton) [*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 516; cf. W. Parson and W. White, *op.cit.*, p. 377; and [-]. Mannix and [-]. Whellan, *op.cit.*, pp. 202–3]. The Rev. William Robinson and the Rev. Jeremiah Reed (Rockcliff) [W. Parson and W. White, *op.cit.*, pp. 378–9; cf. [-]. Mannix and [-]. Whellan, *op.cit.*, p. 204]. The Rev. P. Threlkeld (Kirkby Thore) [*ibid.*, p. 554]. The Rev. J. Bowstead (Brampton Park) [*ibid.*, pp. 575–6]. The Rev. Joseph Wise (Holme Cultram) [*ibid.*, p. 469]. The Rev. Thomas Jefferson (Holme Cultram) [*ibid.*, p. 469]. The Rev. Joseph Halifax (Kirkbride) [*ibid.*, p. 475]. The Rev. Joseph Bell (Bridekirk) [*ibid.*, p. 513].
- 71 See, respectively: C. Hill, ‘The Norman Yoke’ (1956), pp. 14–15. V. G. Kiernan, ‘Wordsworth and the People’ (1956), pp. 175–6. W. Wordsworth, ‘Postscript. 1835’, in W. Knight (ed.), *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, Vol. 4 (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1883), pp. 361–87.
- 72 Wordsworth’s contemporaries portrayed social happiness and economic equality in decidedly moral terms. Sometimes their assumptions were romantic, sometimes pastoral. John Housman, perhaps, epitomises the former position. In the north, he claimed, that ‘human nature may frequently be found in her original dress – neither ornamented by the refining hand of art, nor contaminated with the vices of the world’ (J. Housman, *op.cit.*, p. 1). The Old Lakeland community was living proof of natural goodness, he argued, and ought not to be ignored by the wealthy gentleman, or by the legislator (J. Housman, *ibid.*, pp. 67–8). (Compare Wordsworth’s letter to C. J. Fox.) The latter position was emphasised by William Hutchinson, Thomas West and William Gilpin. They too upheld the statemen’s ‘mountain virtue and pastoral hospitality’ as a model of personal independence and social contentment (W. Hutchinson, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 127–8). Of course, such ‘happiness’ and ‘innocence’ could also be deemed acceptable to the proponents of social stability and political deference: Civility to strangers was always noted with unrestrained pleasure (Cf. T. West, *op.cit.* (1774 edn), p. XVII; W. Hutchinson, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 535; and J. Housman, *op.cit.*, p. 69). Nevertheless, this social vision of political deference and paternal relationships was only a perspective; it was still different to the perceived ‘facts’.
- 73 Thomas Gray’s salute to Grasmere was echoed in a curious way by Wordsworth, who as a boy had also stumbled upon ‘paradise’:

Once to the verge of yon steep barrier came
 A roving School-boy; what the Adventurer’s age
 Hath now escaped his memory – but the hour,
 One of a golden summer holiday,
 He well remembers, though the year be gone.
 Alone and devious from afar he came;
 And, with a sudden influx overpowered
 At sight of this seclusion, he forgot
 His haste, for hasty had his footsteps been
 As boyish his pursuits; and, sighing said,

'What happy fortune were it here to live!
 And, if a thought of dying, if a thought
 Of mortal separation, could intrude
 With paradise before him, here to die!'

- W. Wordsworth, 'Home at Grasmere' (1806), ll. 1–14 in J. O. Hayden, *The Poems*, Vol. 1, p. 697.
- 74 W. Cobbett, *Tour in Scotland and in the Four Northern Counties of England* (1833), p. 245.
- 75 William Wordsworth to S. T. Coleridge, letter dated 27 December 1799, in E. De Selincourt, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 1 (1787–1805), p. 275.
- 76 Dorothy read Ben Jonson's poems to William on Thursday, 11 February 1802. She observed that the poems were 'too interesting for him & would not let him go to sleep'. The editor of her Journal, Pamela Woof, adds that Dorothy re-read the poem 'To Penshurst', on 14 February. On the previous day 'William had read aloud parts of his Recluse to her; one part was probably the lines about the "true Community" in a glorious dwelling place which he had composed for "Home at Grasmere"', and 'these clearly have "to Penshurst" behind them' (D. Wordsworth, *The Grasmere Journals* (ed. by P. Woof) (1993), pp. 65–6 and 204). He was also well read in the Golden Age writings of Samuel Daniel's 'A Pastoral' (1592, 1601), Philip Sidney's 'Arcadia' (1590), George Wither's 'Philarete' (1615?), Edmund Spenser's 'The Shepherdes Calendar' (1579), and John Milton's 'Lycidas' (1637).
- 77 W. Wordsworth, 'Home at Grasmere' (1806), l. 380 in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 707.
- 78 J. Housman, *loc.cit.* p. 70. The rest of the quotation is also relevant to the topic of social and economic equality in Old Lakeland: 'In a village it is common to see the *laird* of 50L. or 100L. a year in the most cordial manner associating with the tinker, beggar, and cobbler [*sic*]. If a man is reputed honest, no other qualification is required for his admission into any village company'.
- 79 W. Hutchinson, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 38. G. P. Jones concluded that 'in this respect [the statesmen] are to be compared rather with the Roman farmer-citizens of republican times than with English tenants in villeinage whence in general the class of copyholders was derived' (G. P. Jones, 'The Decline of the Yeomanry in the Lake Counties', p. 198). Cf. too the description of the Old English yeomen-farmers given by G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History* (1942), pp. 123–4. Cf. too W. Parson and W. White, *op.cit.*, pp. 24–5, re. the importance of the Reformation in England to the growth of Old Lakeland life, manners, and society.

3 Wordsworth and Cobbett: a Comparison

- 1 W. Wordsworth, 'Blest Statesman He, whose Mind's unselfish will', l. 14 in J. O. Hayden, *The Poems* (1977), Vol. 2, p. 819.
- 2 'All that I can boast of in my birth', wrote Cobbett, 'is that I was born in Old England.' William Cobbett quoted in Daniel Green, *Great Cobbett: the Noblest Agitator* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1983), p. 12.
- 3 Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland* (1777) quoted in F. W. Garnett, *Westmorland Agriculture 1800–1900* (1912), p. 14.

- 4 C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *A Short Economic and Social History of the Lake Counties 1500–1830* (1961): see the map entitled 'Industries of the Lake Counties' facing p. 247 and the text of p. 252.
- 5 E. J. Evans and J. V. Beckett, 'Cumberland, Westmorland, and Furness', in J. Thirsk (ed.), *loc.cit.*, Vol. 5, Pt i, p. 29.
- 6 B. M. Short, 'The South-East: Kent, Surrey, and Sussex', in J. Thirsk, *ibid.*, Vol. 5, Pt i, pp. 271, 286, 292 and 294.
- 7 *Ibid.*, pp. 294–6.
- 8 These tables are composed from figures given by B. R. Mitchell, in *British Historical Statistics* (1988), p. 235. Cf. too the following figures (Table N1) taken from 'Appendix D', in E. C. K. Gonner, *Common Land and Enclosure* (1912), pp. 280–1:

Table N1 Enclosures under Act in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries to 1870: Percentage of Land Enclosed for Kent, Surrey and Sussex

County	1760	1761–70	1771–80	1781–90	1791–1800	1801–10	1811–20	1821–70	Total
Kent	C ¹	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T ¹	-	-	-	-	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.5
Sur.	C	-	*	-	1.3	2.4	1.4	0.9	6.0
	T	-	*	*	-	1.7	3.4	1.5	10.1
Sus.	C	-	-	-	*	0.8	0.5	0.4	1.7
	T	-	0.2	*	*	0.1	0.9	1.0	3.6

¹ The abbreviations C and T, respectively, stand for 'common field' and 'total' land enclosed, both common field and commons. An asterisk [*] refers to a small amount.

- 9 J. H. Plumb, *England in the Eighteenth Century* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1951), pp. 151–2.
- 10 Cf. W. H. R. Curtler, *The Enclosure and Redistribution of our Land* (1920), pp. 244–7. We are not here concerned with the truth or falsity of Cobbett's beliefs about the benefits of traditional rights to the rural poor.
- 11 M. D. George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965), pp. 36, 39–40 and p. 321, n. 15. Cf. P. J. Corfield, *The Impact of English Towns 1700–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 66–70 and 190–1 (notes 1 and 2).
- 12 J. P. Cobbett (ed.), *Rural Rides*, Vol. 2 (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd [orig. pub. 1830] 1912), entry dated 22–03–1830, p. 226. The same point was made a century before by Daniel Defoe: 'The magnitude of the city of London adds very considerably to the Inland Trade, for as the City is the centre of our trade, so all the manufactures are brought hither, and hence circulated again to all the country...'. Daniel Defoe quoted in Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: its Origins, its Transformations, and its Prospects* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1961), p. 498.
- 13 Even Whitehaven, however, was a model of town planning.
- 14 J. Housman, *A Topographical Description of Cumberland, Westmorland, [and Lancashire] etc.* (1800), p. 266. Cf. W. Hutchinson, *The History of the County of Cumberland* (1794), Vol. 2, p. 153.
- 15 J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 67–8.

- 16 R. S. Ferguson, *A History of Westmorland* (1894), pp. 170–1. For a broad account of guilds and corporations in the eighteenth century, see P. J. Corfield, *op.cit.*, pp. 86–91.
- 17 Even the ‘realistic picture of mediaeval pageantry’, composed every twenty-one years, in the guild-festival of Kendal only ceased in 1759 when it was carried ‘to such an extravagant height that many of the tradesmen were ruined by the expenses’. R. S. Ferguson, *ibid.*, p. 171. I can find no evidence that Wordsworth visited Kendal before 1788, or Carlisle before 1803. In consequence, his knowledge of manufacturing and market towns, in Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness, was mainly limited to old agricultural centres for primary produce and domestic goods, rather than new cotton, woollen, or finishing industries. M. L. Reed, *Wordsworth. The Chronology of the Early Years 1770–1799* (1967), p. 87; and *idem*, *Wordsworth. The Chronology of the Middle Years* (1975), p. 222.
- 18 W. Parson and W. White, *History, Directory, and Gazetteer [of the Lake Counties]* (1829), pp. 58 and 62.
- 19 *Ibid.*, pp. 562–4.
- 20 *Ibid.*, pp. 499–500.
- 21 *PR*, 32 (1817), p. 683. Cobbett’s social and economic description of the ‘labouring classes’ was not unique. It was used, for example, by Sir Frederick Eden in 1797. Nor was it forward-looking in a class sense. At least, Robert Owen had already used the term ‘working class’ in a new ideological sense in 1815. Cf. P. J. Corfield, *op.cit.*, p. 138.
- 22 W. Cobbett, 22–10–1826 in E. W. Martin (ed.), *Rural Rides* (London: Macdonald and Co. Ltd, 1958), p. 487.
- 23 W. Wordsworth, ‘The world is too much with us; late and soon’ (comp. by 1804; pub. 1807), ll. 1–2 in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 568. Cf. Daniel Defoe’s remarks on the idleness of some women shoppers in the middle and upper ranks of society: ‘I have heard that some ladies, and these, too, persons of good note, have taken their coaches and spent a whole afternoon in Ludgate Street or Covent Garden, only to divert themselves in going from one mercer’s shop to another, to look upon their fine silks and to rattle and banter the shopkeepers, having not so much as the least occasion, much less intention, to buy anything’. Daniel Defoe quoted by Lewis Mumford, *op.cit.*, p. 496.
- 24 M. D. George, *England in Transition* (1953), pp. 31–5. Defoe also seized upon ‘the progressive encroachment of luxury trades on old and basic industries, and the supplying of new wants and amenities in addition to the necessities of life’.
- 25 W. Cobbett, 22–10–1826, *op.cit.*, p. 486.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 487. Forestalling was the practice of buying ‘victuals or merchandise on its road to the market, or before the market-bell had rung’, in order ‘to sell it again for profit’. Regrating was the buying of ‘provisions to sell again for a profit’. Such practices in Carlisle, for example, were ‘severely repressed’ by the people’s ancestors. R. S. Ferguson, *A History of Cumberland* (1890), pp. 216–17. Cf. Elie Halevy, *England in 1815* (1960), pp. 232–3 for a strong rebuttal of Cobbett’s attack on regrating and forestalling in the corn trade, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in the rural south.
- 27 R. S. Ferguson, *op.cit.*, Ch. XIII, ‘The Norman Settlement: III. – The City of

- Carlisle', pp. 191–219. See esp. the excerpts from, and interpretation of, the *Dormont Book of 1561*, which held a detailed code of by-laws for the City's government, *ibid.*, pp. 210–19. The bailiffs, for example, 'were bound by their oath to "suffer noe forestallers ne regrators to be within the precincts of this citie, ne the liberties thereof". Once expelled, they were not permitted again to dwell therein, and anyone who "reset" them or harboured them was fined', *ibid.*, p. 217.
- 28 W. Cobbett, *Tour in Scotland* (1833), p. 243.
- 29 *Ibid.*, pp. 243–4: 'It was *Martinmas*', he added, 'the morning that I was coming out of the city, and the streets were all crowded with farm servants, who were there for the purpose of hiring; and a more pleasant sight I had not seen for a very great while. Innumerable carts in the streets, all ranged nicely in rows, [and] loaded with various things, especially small pigs and poultry'. He found Penrith, eighteen miles away, 'equal in neatness to that of GODALMING in Surrey' (*ibid.*, p. 245). His notion of the Old English market-town was sometimes stretched to include the better commercial ports and towns like Bristol, Hull, Nottingham and Ipswich, which seemed to balance the rural and urban demands of modern society; but even this compromise was tempered by sober reflection upon the movement of millions of pounds of money to such places from neighbouring counties, which made them similar to the great Wen itself. Consider, for instance, William Cobbett's account of Ipswich written on 22 March 1830 in J. P. Cobbett, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 225–6.
- 30 Cf. W. Wordsworth, 'Composed Upon Westminster Bridge, September 3, 1802' (comp. 1802; pub. 1807), l. 14 in J. O. Hayden, *The Poems* (1977), Vol. 1, p. 575.
- 31 Thomas Clarkson, the famous Quaker and abolitionist, used to reside in the Lake District before his broken health and work commitments forced him away. His wife Catherine was a particular friend of Dorothy Wordsworth. Sir George and Lady Beaumont's town-house was situated in Grosvenor Square, Mayfair; Lord Lonsdale's London residence was located in Charles Street, Berkeley Square, Mayfair.
- 32 William Wordsworth to Lady Beaumont, letter dated 21 May 1807, in E. De Selincourt, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 2, Pt i (1806–1811), pp. 145–6.
- 33 E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1968), pp. 504–5. See too G. Spater, *William Cobbett: the Poor Man's Friend*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), Ch. 11 'Westminster elections', pp. 175–90.
- 34 *PR* (2 May 1835) quoted by G. D. H. Cole in *The Life of William Cobbett*, 3rd rev. edn (London: Home & Van Thal, 1947), pp. 428–9. Cf. G. Spater, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 442–3.
- 35 W. Wordsworth, 'The Reverie of Poor Susan' (1800), ll. 4–12 in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 260–1.
- 36 J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Bleak Age*, rev. edn (West Drayton, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1947), pp. 34–6 and 74. Cf. G. M. Trevelyan, *op.cit.*, p. 474. See too Charles Dickens, *Hard Times* (1854) and *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1840–1). Re. Dickens's vision of 'Coketown' (Preston) as the archetype of industrial ugliness and alienation, see Lewis Mumford, *op.cit.*, Ch. 15: 'Palaeotechnic Paradise: Coketown' pp. 508–48. Re. the slums of Old London, see: M. D. George, *op.cit.*, Ch. 1: 'Life and Death in London', pp.

- 35–72, and Ch. 2: ‘Housing and the Growth of London’, pp. 73–115. The reader is also directed to the companion piece to ‘The Reverie of Poor Susan’ (1800) called ‘The Farmer of Tilsbury Vale’ (comp. 1800; pub. 1815) in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 259–60.
- 37 W. Wordsworth, ‘Home at Grasmere’ (1806), ll. 598–601 in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 713.
- 38 W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (1805 Text)*, Bk 7, ll. 118–20, p. 108. In the Lake District it was not uncommon for children to be known by their birth-place or nickname because family names were so common.
- 39 *Ibid.*, Bk 7, ll. 597–8, p. 121.
- 40 R. Williams, *Raymond Williams on Television: Selected Writings* (ed. by A. O’Connor) (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 6.
- 41 W. Wordsworth, *op.cit.*, Bk 7, l. 696, p. 124; Bk 7, ll. 209–14, pp. 110–11; and the note on the text recorded on p. 281.
- 42 Re. Charles Lamb, Washington Irving and Charles Dickens see: W. D. Rubinstein, ‘Charles Dickens, R. Austin Freeman and the Spirit of Old London’, in *idem*, *loc.cit.*, Ch. 10.
- 43 W. Wordsworth, ‘Preface to’ *Lyrical Ballads* (1800/1802) in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 872–3.
- 44 R. G. Collingwood, *The Principles of Art* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), *passim*, esp. pp. 69–77, ‘Magical Art’, and 78–104, ‘Art as Amusement’.
- 45 W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (1805 Text)*, Bk 7, ll. 672–5, p. 123.
- 46 William Cobbett quoted by E. P. Thompson, *op.cit.*, p. 494.
- 47 William Cobbett quoted by E. P. Thompson, *ibid.*, p. 494.
- 48 The major drawback to the hiring fairs of Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness seems to have been the high incidence of bastardy, which had several social rather than moral causes. See the valuable article by J. D. Marshall, ‘Some Aspects of the Social History of 19th-century Cumbria: (II) Crime, Police, morals and the Countryman’, *CW2*, 70 (1970), pp. 221–46.
- 49 Aldous Huxley, for example, offered a very interesting account of the crowd’s liking for ‘illuminations’, fireworks, pageants, and parades which delves deeply into the individual’s need for visionary experience in a very dull world. Cf. A. Huxley, *The Doors of Perception and Heaven and Hell* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1972), pp. 130–42 (Appendix 3).
- 50 It is worth adding that towards the end of his long life, William Cobbett defended the Englishman’s right to human liberty by opposing a bill to render the dissection of corpses a legal act; one suspects that more than normative rights lay behind his position: Cobbett, at least, on several occasions revealed a very old – and even superstitious – character and agrarian view of the world. Cf. K. W. Schweizer and J. W. Osborne, *Cobbett in his Times* (Leicester and London: Leicester University Press, 1990), p. 154.
- 51 Cf. P. Linebaugh, ‘The Tyburn Riot Against the Surgeons’, in D. Hay, P. Linebaugh, J. G. Rule, *et al.*, *Albion’s Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975), pp. 65–117, esp. 83, 99–100, 102 and 115.
- 52 E. P. Thompson, ‘Eighteenth-century English Society: Class Struggle without Class?’, *SH*, 3, No. 1, Jan. (1978), pp. 133–65 esp. p. 144 ff; the quotations, however, are taken from p. 159.
- 53 Consider, for example, his conclusion to *The Prelude (1805 Text)*, Bk 7, ll. 706–41, pp. 124–5. Wordsworth claims to see the parts of London as parts,

yet also to feel the whole. But even this glimpse of the city's spiritual significance was attributed to his 'early converse with the works of God/ Among all regions; chiefly where appear/ Most obviously simplicity and power'. In a word, communion with Nature:

This did I feel in that vast receptacle.
The Spirit of Nature was upon me here;
The Soul of Beauty and enduring life
Was present as a habit, and diffused,
Through meagre lines and colours, and the press
Of self-destroying, transitory things
Composure and ennobling harmony.

His revelation was obviously the result of his favoured upbringing and experience of rural life and Nature in the remote north. It was a guarantee against complete estrangement from himself, and his fellow man, in the metropolis.

54 *Ibid.*, Bk 7, l. 655, p. 123.

55 *Ibid.*, Bk 7, ll. 701–5, p. 124.

56 *Ibid.*, Bk 7, l. 29, p. 126.

57 W. Wordsworth, *The Excursion* (1814), Bk 2, ll. 120 and 134–7 in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 71–2.

58 William Wordsworth to C. J. Fox, letter dated 14 January 1801, in Alan G. Hill (ed.), *Letters of William Wordsworth. A New Selection* (1984), pp. 42–3.

59 William Wordsworth quoted in Jared Curtis, *The Fenwick Notes of William Wordsworth* (1993), pp. 66–7.

60 W. Wordsworth, 'Preface to' *Lyrical Ballads* (1800/1802) in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 881. Even the naming of plants in Old England gave proof of imagination's power to weld 'Man, Nature, and Human life' together. Consider, for example, the drooping 'red Flower' called 'Love Lies Bleeding'. Pangs of despised love 'that Lover knew', wrote Wordsworth:

Who first, weighed down by scorn, in some lone bower
Did press this semblance of unpitied smart
Into the service of his constant heart,
His own dejection, downcast Flower! could share
With thine, and gave the mournful name which thou
Wilt ever bear.

W. Wordsworth, 'Love Lies Bleeding' (1842), ll. 20–4 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 776.

61 W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (1805 Text)*, Bk 13, l. 103, p. 231; and *idem*, 'Home at Grasmere' (1806), ll. 465–70 in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 709. Cf. *idem*, 'Preface to' *Lyrical Ballads* (1800/1802) in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 869–70.

62 W. Wordsworth, 'Home at Grasmere' (1806), ll. 445–64 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 709.

63 *Ibid.*, ll. 380–3 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 707.

64 For details of this letter, see note 58 of the present chapter.

65 W. Wordsworth, 'Preface to' *Lyrical Ballads* (1800/1802) in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 869.

- 66 C. J. Calhoun, 'Community: Toward a Variable Conceptualisation for Comparative Research', *SH*, 5 (1980), p. 114. Cf. L. Reissman, 'Urbanism and Urbanisation', in J. Gould (ed.), *Penguin Survey of the Social Science 1965* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965), pp. 36–55.
- 67 *Ibid.*, p. 114.
- 68 *PR*, 28 (1815), pp. 366–7. Wordsworth also bemoaned the loss of life wrought by the British government's unjust war with France and noted with bitterness the frequent incompetence of aristocrats on the battlefield.
- 69 Re. the Peace of Amien, see Asa Briggs, *The Age of Improvement 1783–1867* (1959), pp. 144–5.
- 70 W. Wordsworth's sonnets on national independence and liberty: for example, 'England! the time is come when thou shouldst wean' (comp. 1802; pub. 1807) in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 560.
- 71 W. Wordsworth, 'When I have borne in memory what has tamed' (comp. 1802; pub. 1803), ll. 3–4 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 561.
- 72 William Wordsworth to Sir George Beaumont, letter dated 11 February 1806, in E. De Selincourt, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 2, Pt i (1806–11), p. 7.
- 73 W. Wordsworth, 'Written in London, September, 1802' (comp. 1802; pub. 1807), ll. 7–10 in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 580.
- 74 William Wordsworth quoted in Jared Curtis, *op.cit.*, p. 28.
- 75 G. M. Trevelyan quoted by Asa Briggs, *op.cit.*, p. 167. This observation is the best qualification of Wordsworth's Romantic conviction that modern men and women craved 'extraordinary incident'; but the two views were not incompatible. For example, thousands of sober and respectable members of the middle ranks of society awaited and rejoiced at news of the naval and military fortunes of Lord Nelson, Admiral Collingwood, Sir John Moore, and General Wellesley and so on. No doubt the length of the French War – which lasted twenty-odd years – was a general cause of complacency amongst the people.
- 76 A. Briggs, *ibid.*, pp. 161–7. See also the lucid treatment of this topic in M. W. Flinn's book *The Origins of the Industrial Revolution* (1966), Ch. 4: 'The Commercial Origins'.
- 77 Re. the origins and growth of the funded debt see: *ibid.*, pp. 121–2. According to Cobbett the yearly interest of the National Debt was forty million pounds in 1816, and the armed forces and other public expenses were fixed at twenty-six million, making a total of seventy million a year, *PR*, 32 (1817), pp. 788–90 and 258–9 – a staggering sum in comparison with the pre-war levels of fifteen million pounds in 1783 and nine million in 1764, *ibid.*, 29 (1815), p. 262; the government received an average of seven pounds sixteen shillings a year in taxation from everyone in the country, *ibid.*, 27 (1815), p. 753.
- 78 Cf. G. D. H. Cole, *op.cit.*, p. 408.
- 79 *PR*, 31 (1816), pp. 347–9. Cf. W. Cobbett, 31–10–1825, in E. W. Martin, *loc.cit.*, p. 261.
- 80 E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1968), pp. 820–37; and W. D. Rubinstein, *Elites and the Wealthy in Modern British History* (1987), esp. Ch. 9: 'The End of "Old Corruption" in Britain, 1780–1860' and Ch. 11: 'British Radicalism and the "Dark Side" of Populism'. Cobbett's conspiracy theory took its earliest form in his critique of the so-called 'Pitt-system of Government'. See *PR*, 29, No. 23 (1815), pp. 713–17. It achieved its final

form in the journalist's account of England's long demise from Anglo-Saxon times to the present, called *A History of the Protestant 'Reformation' in England and Ireland* (Dublin: James Duffy and Co., undated).

- 81 *Ibid.*, Ch. 11, esp. pp. 345 and 360. As E. P. Thompson observed: 'His outlook approximated most closely to the ideology of the *small producers*'. But Cobbett 'stopped short of any radical critique of property-rights'. E. P. Thompson, *op.cit.*, p. 834. The same point is made more theoretically by W. D. Rubinstein, *op.cit.*, p. 343: 'Populism lacks a consistent world-view and is largely lacking in the systematic element of the critique found in historical materialism'. Populism's place in American history is sketched very well by Professor Rubinstein in his comparative essay, but the student might also refer to the various essays in J. P. Roach (ed.), *American Political Thought from Jefferson to Progressivism* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1967), and J. F. Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine. Technology and Republican Values in America 1776-1900* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1976). The following works are a good introduction to the study of populism in Australia; especially, its social and economic relationships to racism, millennialism, utopianism, imperialism and radical nationalism: R. Gollan, 'American Populism and Australian Utopianism', *Labour History*, No. 9, Nov. (1965), pp. 15-21; H. McQueen, *A New Britannia* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975) and P. Love, *Labor and the Money Power: Australian Labour Populism 1890-1950* (Melbourne University Press, 1984). English agrarian radicalism and populism are also treated in very different ways by the following writers: G. Stedman Jones, 'Rethinking Chartism' in *idem, Languages of Class. Studies in English Working Class History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 90-178; I. McCalman, 'Unrespectable Radicalism: Infidels and Pornography in Early Nineteenth-Century London', *PP*, No. 4 (Aug. 1984), pp. 74-110; and P. Joyce, *Visions of the People. Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- 82 W. D. Rubinstein, *ibid.*, Ch. 9, pp. 266-72 and Ch. 11 esp. p. 357; cf. E. P. Thompson, *op.cit.*, p. 834.
- 83 E. P. Thompson, *ibid.*, pp. 836-7.
- 84 W. Cobbett, 17-11-1821, in J. P. Cobbett, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 33-4.
- 85 L. Mumford, *op.cit.*, Plate 37, called 'Pride of Bath' - and the long note attached thereto. Cf. P. J. Corfield, *op.cit.*, Ch. 4: 'Spas and resorts' and p. 173. Corfield points out elsewhere that: 'The lengthy London winter and spring seasons [of social engagements and entertainments] dovetailed with the summer popularity of Bath and the resorts [like Tunbridge Wells and Brighton]' (p. 75).
- 86 W. Cobbett, 30-09-1826, in J. P. Cobbett, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 126.
- 87 W. Wordsworth, 'Imitation of Juvenal - Satire VIII' (comp. by April, 1796; pub. 1940), ll. 163-73, in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 146-7. According to Hayden's notes, set down on pp. 936-7 [Wilston?] and Wright were probably two provisioners of the period; and James Graham (1745-94) was a well-known quack who built a 'Temple of Health' at the Adelphi.
- 88 R. M. Ogilvie, *Roman Literature And Society* (London: Penguin Books, 1980), pp. 242 and 248.
- 89 In his unfinished 'Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff', the poet also condemned the aristocracy for their gaming and horse-racing; their debauchery;

- their 'dissimulation'; and their readiness to accept places, pensions and sinecures. His critique could have been written in content, if not in style, by Cobbett, about a decade later. W. Wordsworth, 'A Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff' (comp. 1793) in J. O. Hayden, *William Wordsworth. Selected Prose* (1988), pp. 153–7.
- 90 W. Cobbett, 31–10–1825, in E. W. Martin, *op.cit.*, p. 261. A short but substantial account of Cobbett's anti-semitism is found in K. W. Schweizer and J. W. Osborne, *op.cit.*, pp. 70–7.
- 91 W. Cobbett, 02–10–1826, in E. W. Martin, *ibid.*, p. 414.
- 92 *Ibid.*, p. 415. The notion of the 'great wen', however, had arisen in Elizabethan times. M. D. George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (1965), pp. 36 and 73.
- 93 Richard Hofstadter quoted by W. D. Rubinstein in 'British Radicalism and the "Dark Side" of Populism', p. 349.
- 94 W. Cobbett, 30–09–1826, in J. P. Cobbett, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 127.
- 95 Thus he railed at length against the bill presented to Parliament, in 1830, 'to put *Jews* on a level with *Christians*'. If the bill was passed he concluded, 'if those who called Jesus Christ an *imposter* were thus declared to be *as good* as those who adored him, there was not', he 'hoped a man in the kingdom who would pretend that it would be just to compel the people to pay tithes, and fees, and offerings to men for *teaching Christianity*', especially if the clergy made no attempt to oppose the bill. W. Cobbett, 11–04–1830, in J. P. Cobbett, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 240. Cf. J. W. Osborne and K. W. Schweizer, *op.cit.*, pp. 72–5.
- 96 Cf. L. Mumford, *op.cit.*, p. 475: 'In its emphasis on speculation, not security, upon profit-making innovations, rather than value-conserving traditions and continuities, capitalism tended to dismantle the whole structure of urban life and place it upon a new impersonal basis: money and profit'.
- 97 W. Cobbett, 30–08–1826, in E. W. Martin, *op.cit.*, pp. 311–12 and 386; and *idem* 04–12–1821 in J. P. Cobbett, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 43.
- 98 W. Cobbett, 04–12–1821, in J. P. Cobbett, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 43. These last few quotations must surely give the lie to Penelope Corfield's conclusion that: 'Although there were many criticisms of the towns [in the late eighteenth-century], there was nothing like the virulence of the anti-urbanism found in some intellectual traditions (as in nineteenth-century America, for example). English towns were accepted' and their 'achievement was a positive one'. See P. J. Corfield, *op.cit.*, p. 188.
- 99 W. Cobbett, 18–11–1821, in J. P. Cobbett, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 34–5; and *idem*, 27–09–1822, in E. W. Martin, *op.cit.*, pp. 12–13.
- 100 W. D. Rubinstein, 'British Radicalism and the "Dark Side" of Populism', p. 344 and *passim*.
- 101 A. V. Dicey, *The Statesmanship of Wordsworth* (1917), pp. 9–10.
- 102 A. Cobban, *Edmund Burke and the Revolt Against the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd edn (1960), p. 139 and *passim*.
- 103 G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the 19th Century and After (1782–1919)*, 2nd edn (1937), p. 28 incl. n. 1.
- 104 H. Davies, *William Wordsworth. A Biography* (1980), p. 10 and M. Moorman, *William Wordsworth: A Biography* (1957) [=Vol. 1], p. 15: 'She was insistent', for example, 'that her scholars should keep the country festivals of Shrove Tide, Easter, and May Day with all due rites'.

- 105 Cf. W. Wordsworth, 'Autobiographical Memoranda' (comp. 1847) in J. O. Hayden (ed.), *William Wordsworth. Selected Prose* (1988), p. 5.
- 106 G. M. Trevelyan, *op.cit.*, p. 28.
- 107 When Wordsworth visited his old dame, in 1788, during his first summer vacation from Cambridge University, he was struck by her traditional lifestyle and manners:

With new delight,
 . . . did I view my grey-hair'd Dame,
 Saw her go forth to Church, or other work
 Of state, equipp'd in monumental trim,
 Short Velvet Cloak (her Bonnet of the like)
 A Mantle such as Spanish Cavaliers
 Wore in old time. Her smooth domestic life,
 Affectionate without uneasiness,
 Her talk, her business pleas'd me, and no less
 Her clear though shallow stream of piety,
 That ran on Sabbath days a fresher course.
 With thoughts unfelt till now, I saw her read
 Her Bible on the Sunday afternoons;
 And lov'd the book, when she had dropp'd asleep,
 And made of it a pillow for her head.

- W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude Text of 1805*, Bk 4, ll. 207–21, pp. 58–9.
- 108 A. V. Dicey, *op.cit.*, pp. 9–10. The cost of Wordsworth's board with Ann Tyson, however, in 1787, was 6s 4d a week, 'so that, when fees, books, clothes, postages and other expenses are considered, it is clear that only relatively well-to-do parents could afford such an education for their sons'. C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *A Short Economic and Social History of the Lake Counties 1500–1830* (1961), p. 200.
- 109 W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (Text of 1805)*, Bk 2, ll. 85 and 82, p. 22. Cf. T. W. Thompson, *Wordsworth's Hawkshead* (1970), p. 76: Ann Tyson cooked oat bread, or 'haver bread' as it was called locally, because 'there was no baker or confectioner in Hawkshead in those days'.
- 110 G. M. Trevelyan, *op.cit.*, p. 28, n. 1.
- 111 T. W. Thompson, *op.cit.*, p. 166.
- 112 Thomas Cowperthwaite's rhymes were sent by Isaac Swainson to his father, Joseph, who was a wool merchant in Kendal. In 1949 T. W. Thompson found the author's version of this rhyme in the church safe at Hawkshead. The first two lines were the same, and the third and fourth read:

They live by their Trade in fair and foul Weather,
 And pay scanty heed to the Mighty Ones Blether.

Ibid., pp. 171–2.

- 113 *Ibid.*, pp. 171–2.
- 114 *Ibid.*, p. 198 (see the note on p. 198 by Robert Woof with regard to the last example given in the paragraph). Cf. too, pp. 111–14, 173–4, 193 and 243–4.
- 115 *Ibid.*, pp. 187–90. Even the local solicitor, John Gibson, was a well-known wag, who played practical jokes on men and boys alike.

- 116 *Ibid.*, pp. 239–44 and 245–6.
- 117 Cf. M. Moorman, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 73–4 and 10–11.
- 118 From W. Cobbett, *The Life and Adventures of Peter Porcupine*, August 1796, in A. D. M. Hughes (ed.), *Cobbett. Selections with Hazlitt's Essay and other Critical Estimates* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), p. 33.
- 119 William Cobbett quoted in A. D. M. Hughes, *ibid.*, p. 32.
- 120 William Cobbett quoted in Daniel Green, *op.cit.*, p. 21. Cf. too W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (Text of 1805)*, Bk 1, ll. 305–50 (Bird-nesting), pp. 9–10; and *idem*, 'The Childless Father' (1800) in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 451.
- 121 William Cobbett, 27–09–1822, in E. W. Martin, *op.cit.*, pp. 12–13.
- 122 William Wordsworth to Hugh Seymour Tremenheere, letter dated 16 December 1845, in E. De Selincourt, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 7, Pt iv (1840–53), p. 733.
- 123 Cf. W. Cobbett, *Cottage Economy* [1st pub. in 1822] (London: Peter Davies, 1926 edn), p. 4.
- 124 William Cobbett quoted in Daniel Green, *op.cit.*, pp. 13–14.
- 125 Even his occasional encounter with 'manorial' life was unattended by any radical change in his outlook. (Consider, for example, his employment as a garden-boy at the Castle of Farnham, which was home to the Bishop of Winchester; or more briefly his similar role at Kew Gardens, in 1787(?), where Prince George and two of his brothers laughed at the sight of his blue-smock frock and red garters.) The aristocracy and gentry were clearly part of the old rural order and their scattered mansions and great estates appeared to be permanent features of the rural landscape. William Cobbett quoted in G. D. H. Cole, *op.cit.*, p. 17.
- 126 G. D. H. Cole, 'William Cobbett (1762–1835)', in *idem*, *Persons and Periods: Studies by G. D. H. Cole* (New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1969), pp. 54–5. Cole actually uses the terms 'Tory' and 'Radical'. For a recent discussion of the vexed question of Cobbett's early status as a 'Tory' see: W. D. Rubinstein's essay on populism (*op.cit.*, pp. 351–2).
- 127 D. Green, *op.cit.*, pp. 35–6.
- 128 W. Wordsworth, 'Simon Lee' (1798), esp. ll. 1, 5–6, 13–16, 25–32, and 40–8 in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 300–3. See too William Wordsworth quoted in Jared Curtis, *op.cit.*, p. 37.
- 129 Cf. M. D. George, *England in Transition* (1953), pp. 87–8.
- 130 William Cobbett quoted in Daniel Green, *op.cit.*, p. 13.
- 131 W. Cobbett, *Cottage Economy* (1926 edn), p. 4. Cf. too the *PR*, 31 (1816), p. 166 – 'The patriotism which is inspired by the wants of the belly is of a sort that I do not admire. . . . I want to see the people animated by the principle of liberty and not by the calls of hunger'.
- 132 Cf. W. Wordsworth, 'Guilt and Sorrow' (1800; pub. 1842), esp. stanzas 52–7 in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 134–6. See too C. Brinton, *English Political Thought in the 19th Century* (1962), p. 75.
- 133 *PR*, dated 14 April 1821, quoted by Raymond Williams in *Culture and Society 1780–1950* (1963), p. 33. Cobbett believed that the rural labourers had been degraded to a point at which they no longer owed a duty to obey their social superiors and traditional leaders. He felt that the 'conspiracy' to deprive Englishmen of their birth-rights had reached its final stage, for example, with the 'Captain Swing' riots, in the south, and the sinister attempts, in Scotland, to clear the labourers from the land to create

- 'huge manufactories of meat and corn'. Cf. D. Green, *op.cit.*, p. 295; G. D. H. Cole (ed.), *Rural Rides*, dated 26-09-1832 (1930), Vol. 3, p. 714; and W. Cobbett, *Tour in Scotland* (1833), dated 14-10-1832, p. 84, and 22-10-1832, pp. 160-1.
- 134 W. Wordsworth, 'Home at Grasmere' (1806), ll. 626-32 in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 714. *Idem*, 'Prospectus to' *The Excursion* (1798/1814), l. 55 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 39.
- 135 William Wordsworth quoted in Christopher Wordsworth (jnr), *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 184-5; and Transcript of Wordsworth's speech on the occasion of laying the first stone of a new school at Bowness, Windermere, on 13 April 1836, [hereafter, 'Transcript of speech at Bowness'] in C. Wordsworth (jnr), *ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 201-3.
- 136 W. Wordsworth, 'Transcript of speech at Bowness', in C. Wordsworth (jnr), *ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 202-3.
- 137 William Wordsworth to Francis Wrangham, letter dated 5 June 1808, in E. De Selincourt, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 2, Pt i (1806-11), p. 247.
- 138 See the standard biographies: M. Moorman, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 178-9 and 340 and S. Gill, *William Wordsworth: a Life* (1989), pp. 290-1 incl. n. 1.
- 139 William Wordsworth to the Rev. Hugh J. Rose, letter dated 11 December 1828, in C. Wordsworth (jnr), *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 181.
- 140 William Wordsworth quoted in Christopher Wordsworth (jnr), *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 190. It is worth adding here that Hawkshead Grammar School, in the late eighteenth century, still distinguished between students who were seeking a basic education in reading, writing, and accounts from those learning the classics. In other words, the poet was not really proposing anything new. Cf. too T. W. Thompson, *op.cit.*, pp. 89 and 185.
- 141 William Wordsworth quoted in Christopher Wordsworth (jnr), *ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 187-8.
- 142 William Wordsworth to Christopher Wordsworth (sr), letter dated 27 April 1830, in C. Wordsworth (jnr), *ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 192-3.
- 143 William Wordsworth to Francis Wrangham, letter dated 5 June 1808, in E. De Selincourt, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 2, Pt i (1806-11), p. 247.
- 144 W. Wordsworth, 'Michael - A Pastoral Poem' (1800), ll. 95-109 and 110-22 in J. O. Hayden, *The Poems* (1977), Vol. 1, p. 458.
- 145 J. Housman, *op.cit.*, p. 78.
- 146 Wordsworth's landlord at Hawkshead, Hugh Tyson, was an exception. He had been born the 'natural' son of 'Issabell Tysons of foulyeat [Foldgate]', and so had fallen upon the parish for relief. It was finally decided to make him a 'Sandys Charity boy' - which entitled him to free board, clothing and basic instruction at the grammar school. T. W. Thompson, *op.cit.*, pp. 5-6.
- 147 William Wordsworth to Francis Wrangham, letter dated 5 June 1808, in E. De Selincourt, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 2, Pt i (1806-11), p. 248.
- 148 E. P. Thompson, 'Eighteenth-century English Society: Class Struggle without Class?', p. 153 (Thompson's emphasis).
- 149 For details of Cobbett's remarkable success as a *self-taught* grammarian, farmer, economist, barrack-room lawyer, and would-be historian, see the standard biographies listed in the main bibliography of this book.
- 150 W. Cobbett, 20-11-1825, in J. P. Cobbett, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 20-2.
- 151 Nor did 'education' interfere with the child's daily routine of farm work

- and fun. For example, he taught his own children whilst riding around the countryside, when sitting about 'the scrabbling table' at home, or resting at friends' houses and inns. G. Spater, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 158–9.
- 152 Cf. W. Cobbett, *Cottage Economy* (1926 edn), p. 147: 'Good [domestic] management . . . leaves the man's wages to provide an abundance of good food and raiment; and these are the things that make happy families; and these are the things that make a good, kind, sincere, and brave people; not little pamphlets about "loyalty" and "content". A good man will be contented fast enough, if he be fed and clad sufficiently; but if a man be not well fed and clad, he is a base wretch to be contented'.
- 153 *PR*, 12 (29 Aug. 1807), pp. 331–2.
- 154 R. Frost, 'The Death of the Hired Hand' (1914) in R. Frost (ed.), *Robert Frost. Selected Poems* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1955), p. 37.
- 155 W. Cobbett, *Cottage Economy* (1926 edn), pp. 8–9.
- 156 W. Cobbett, 17–11–1822, in E. W. Martin, *op.cit.*, pp. 51–2. Re. William Wilberforce see: *PR*, 32 (1817), pp. 998–9.
- 157 W. Wordsworth, 'Transcript of speech at Bowness', in C. Wordsworth (jnr), *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 200.
- 158 Cf. W. Cobbett, *Cottage Economy* (1926), p. 9: 'It is upon the hungry and wretched that the fanatic work[s]. The dejected and forlorn are his prey. As an ailing carcase engenders vermin, [wrote Cobbett,] a pauperised community engenders teachers of [religious] fanaticism, the very foundation of whose doctrines is, that we are to care nothing about this world, and that all our labours and exertions are vain'.
- 159 *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.
- 160 William Wordsworth to Francis Wrangham, letter dated 5 June 1808, in E. De Selincourt, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 2, Pt i (1806–11), p. 250.
- 161 William Wordsworth to Francis Wrangham, letter 5 June 1808, in E. De Selincourt, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, Pt i, p. 249; and *idem* to Allan Cunningham, letter dated 23 November 1825, *ibid.*, Vol. 4 [wrongly labelled Vol. 3], Pt i (1821–8), pp. 401–3. In fact, one cannot help concluding that Wordsworth had imbibed much of the tastes and standards of the lower-middle ranks of rural society towards human nature and art. At least, John Clare, the 'peasant poet' of Northumberland, was also glad to sit by village fire-sides and hear 'from old wives of Jack the Giant Killer, Cinderella, Tom Thumb' and to listen 'with pleasure to the ballads sung by the home-ward wending rustics – "Peggy Band", and "Sweet Month of May"'. The Border counties, it seems, were still largely based upon oral culture and traditions. K. MacLean, *Agrarian Age: a Background for Wordsworth* (1950), p. 46.
- 162 Cf. W. Cobbett, 20–11–1825, in J. P. Cobbett, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 19. On hot summer days, old Ann Tyson appears sometimes to have worshipped, with her Anglican lodgers, at the dissenting church near Colthouse because it was closer than the Anglican church in Hawkshead.
- 163 William Wordsworth to Francis Wrangham, letter dated 5 June 1808, in E. De Selincourt, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 2, Pt i (1806–11), p. 247. The Bible remained the staple reading for the labouring classes on the Sabbath-day: after coming home from Church, 'some one turns to the Bible', explains Wordsworth, 'finds the Text and probably reads the chapter whence it is taken, or perhaps some other; and in the afternoon the Master or Mistress frequently reads the Bible, if alone; and on this day [too] the Mistress of the house

- almost always teaches the children to read, or as they express it, hears them a Lesson' (*ibid.*, p. 247).
- 164 Cf. R. Williams, *Culture and Society 1780–1950* (1963), pp. 36–7; and E. P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism', in M. W. Flinn and T. C. Smout (eds), *Essays in Social History* (1974). Cf. too M. D. George, *op.cit.*, pp. 138–9.
- 165 See Chapters 1 and 2 for further details.
- 166 William Wordsworth to Francis Wrangham, letter dated 5 June 1808, in E. De Selincourt, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 2, Pt i, p. 250.
- 167 'In general', writes, J. H. Porter, 'the [literacy] rate was higher in the far north than in the south, the rates being highest in Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Durham, and the East and North Ridings, and lowest in Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk and Norfolk.' J. H. Porter, 'The Development of Rural Society', in G. E. Mingay (ed.), *loc.cit.*, p. 900. Cf. William Wordsworth to Francis Wrangham, letter dated 5 June 1808, in E. De Selincourt, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, Pt i, p. 250.
- 168 William Wordsworth to Francis Wrangham, letter dated 5 June 1808, in E. De Selincourt, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, Pt i, pp. 250–1.
- 169 For the source of this quotation, see note 58 of the present chapter.
- 170 *PR* (27 November 1817) quoted in Raymond Williams, *Cobbett* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 44–5. We might well compare this passage with the following account of the important role played by Eton in the formation of class consciousness and superiority among the upper and middle classes in the early twentieth century. George Orwell wrote of his schooling that: 'WHEN I WAS fourteen or fifteen I was an odious little snob, but no worse than other boys of my own age and class. I suppose there is no place in the world where snobbery is quite so ever-present or where it is cultivated in such refined and subtle forms as in an English public school. Here at least one cannot say that English "education" fails to do its job. You forget your Latin and Greek within a few months of leaving school – I studied Greek for eight or ten years, and now, at thirty-three, I cannot even repeat the Greek alphabet – but your snobbishness, unless you persistently root it out like the bindweed it is, sticks by you till your grave'. G. Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1989 [1st pub. by Victor Gollancz; 1937]), p. 128.
- 171 William Wordsworth quoted in Jared Curtis, *op.cit.*, pp. 6–7.
- 172 William Wordsworth to John Wilson, letter dated 7 June 1802, in A. G. Hill (ed.), *Letters of William Wordsworth. A New Selection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 52.
- 173 J. H. Clapham, *An Economic History of Modern Britain. The Early Railway Age: 1820–1850* (1967), p. 66.
- 174 P. Deane, *The First Industrial Revolution* (1965), p. 14.
- 175 W. Wordsworth, 'Transcript of speech at Bowness', in Christopher Wordsworth (jnr), *loc.cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 199. Cobbett believed in the 'natural progress', or slow movement, between the ranks of rural society, but was convinced 'that nine-tenths' of men and women were 'from the very nature and necessities of the world, born to gain' their 'livelihood by the sweat of their brows. W. Cobbett, *Cottage Economy* (1926 edn), p. 7.

- 176 William Wordsworth to Francis Wrangham, letter dated 5 June 1808, in E. De Selincourt, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 2, Pt i, p. 250.
- 177 Cf. J. Langton, 'The Industrial Revolution and the Regional Geography of England', pp. 145–67; and P. Joyce, *Visions of the People. Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- 178 Cf. P. Joyce, *ibid.*, p. 267.
- 179 W. Wordsworth, *The Excursion* (1814), Bk 8, ll. 117–47 and 196–213 in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 254–6.
- 180 W. Wordsworth, *ibid.*, Bk 8, ll. 151–2 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 255.
- 181 *Ibid.*, Bk 8, ll. 156–85 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, pp. 255–6.
- 182 Re. 'such unnatural proceedings' as night work in the factories see: William Wordsworth quoted in Jared Curtis, *op.cit.*, p. 89. The owner of water-driven wheels, who could not extract full use of his men and machines, often laid-off workers to suit the flow of water and the needs of the market.
- 183 E. P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', pp. 56–98.
- 184 *PR* (30 Aug. 1823) quoted and paraphrased in G. D. H. Cole, *op.cit.*, p. 260–1.
- 185 Cf. E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1968), pp. 486–7: 'During the years between 1780 and 1840 the people of Britain suffered an experience of immiseration, even if it is possible to show a small statistical improvement in material conditions'.
- 186 *PR* (30 Aug. 1823) quoted in G. D. H. Cole, *op.cit.*, p. 259. Cf. too I. Pinchbeck and M. Hewitt, *Children in English Society* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), Vol. 1, p. 407: in 1832, *A Memoir of Robert Blincoe* was published in Manchester. In this plebeian work, William Wilberforce was strongly criticised 'for only pleading the black slave's cause, never that "of that homely kind, as to embrace the region of the home-cotton-slave-trade"'. Blincoe had been 'taken at seven years' of age 'as a parish apprentice from St Pancras workhouse [in London] to Lowdham Mill, near Nottingham, and subsequently moved to Litton Mill, near Tideswell, Derbyshire'. His *Memoir* was 'intended to show that the comparison between the lot of the young factory worker and that of the slave was not without substance'. For example, at 'Lowdham Mill, "from morning till night he was continually being beaten, pulled by the hair of his head, kicked or cursed" by the overseers who had to have so much work produced or be dismissed. His hours of work were fourteen a day for a six-day week, plus frequent overtime, despite Peel's Factory Act of 1802, which was then in "operation", and laid down that no poor law apprentice was to work more than twelve hours a day'.
- 187 W. Wordsworth, 'Humanity' (comp. c.1829; pub. 1835), ll. 83–94 in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 691–2.
- 188 Cf. William Wordsworth quoted in Jared Curtis, *op.cit.*, pp. 66–7.
- 189 S. Pollard, *The Idea of Progress* (1968), p. 71. Adam Smith believed that 'every individual . . . neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it . . . by directing . . . industry in such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible

- hand to promote an end which has no part of his intention' (Adam Smith quoted by Sidney Pollard, *ibid.*, p. 72).
- 190 *Ibid.*, pp. 73–5. Pollard points out that the 'extreme partisanship for *laissez-faire* evident' in some passages from *The Wealth of Nations* 'was, contrary to public belief, never part of the fixed canon of the science founded by Adam Smith'. At least, 'he admitted important exceptions to his own rules' (*ibid.*, p. 73).
- 191 A. Ure, from *The Philosophy of Manufactures* (1835) in A. Clayre (ed.), *Nature & Industrialization* (1977), p. 71.
- 192 Malthus made several assumptions: first, that population 'is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence'; second, that population 'invariably increases where the means of subsistence increase, unless prevented by some very powerful and obvious check'; and third, that these 'checks... are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice and misery'. His theory was later characterised, for good reason, as the 'dismal science': his argument had grave consequences for the future behaviour and living standards of the vast majority of mankind, namely, that there will always be misery and vice in society unless the majority live with moral restraint and refrain from having too many children. His argument, however, was logically flawed, and given the lie by England's staggering rise in population, on the one hand, and increased food production, on the other. Nevertheless, it was adopted in the period by well-to-do employers, poor law agencies, and privileged groups because it justified the increasing gulf between rich and poor on moral grounds, whilst forcing the latter to work harder and in worse conditions under the New Poor Law of 1834. Cf. Thomas Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population, as it affects the Future Improvement of Society... [etc.]*, 6th edn (1826) quoted in Sidney Pollard, *op.cit.*, pp. 165–6.
- 193 W. Cobbett, entries for 08–08–1823, 30–08–1826, and 01–09–1826 in E. W. Martin, *op.cit.*, pp. 147–50, 314–15 and 335–7. See too the entries for 28–08–1826, *ibid.*, pp. 295–6; and 04–09–1826, *ibid.*, p. 349. Cf. W. Cobbett, *Tour in Scotland* (1833), p. 100 re. 'the moral restraint of the nasty-pensioned-parson MALTHUS'.
- 194 See the following entries and leading articles from William Cobbett's *Rural Rides and Political Register*. Re. cheap government and Dr John Black: 07–10–1832, in J. P. Cobbett, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 295–7. Re. Scottish 'feelosofers': 22–10–1832 in W. Cobbett, *Tour in Scotland* (1833), p. 157. Re. Dr John Black: 02–08–1823, in E. W. Martin, *op.cit.*, pp. 110–11. Re. Henry Brougham: 31–10–1825 and 04–09–1826, *ibid.*, pp. 110–11 and 351. Re. William Huskisson: 06–11–1825, *ibid.*, pp. 110–11 and cf., pp. 256–8, 269–70, and 351. Re. the supposed 'aristocracy in trade' and different kinds of labourers in the north and the south of the country: *PR* quoted in Raymond Williams, *Cobbett* (1983), pp. 26 and 36. Re. factory slavery: *PR*, 31 (1816), p. 775, and 32 (1817), pp. 770–1.
- 195 For a brief but insightful account of Cobbett's changing views of the factory system and the growth of large towns in the industrial north, see: E. W. Martin, *op.cit.*, pp. 396–400.
- 196 Cf. W. Cobbett, 01–08–1823, in E. W. Martin, *ibid.*, pp. 98–100. Cf. too R. Williams, *op.cit.*, pp. 61–3 and *idem*, *Culture and Society 1780–1950* (1963), pp. 33–4.
- 197 K. Marx, from *Das Kapital* (1867) in A. Clayre, *loc.cit.*, p. 80.

- 198 *Ibid.*, pp. 80–1. Cf. too R. Williams, *op.cit.*, pp. 62–3. For a clear account of Marx's views of 'patriarchal industries' and the 'natural' division of labour and property in pre-industrial times, see the helpful extracts from *Das Kapital* (1867), in T. B. Bottomore and M. Rubel (eds), *Karl Marx. Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy* (1963), Part Two, Ch. 1: 'Forms of Property and Modes of Production', *passim*.
- 199 F. D. Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution* [pub.1947], rev.edn (1968), p. 103. Klingender argued that Wordsworth's strong stand against the factory system was the result of his earlier hopes that science and technology would liberate men from heavy labour and improve the material quality of their lives. Such a view was evident in the poet's famous 'Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* (1800/1802): see, for example, the statements made in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 881. Unfortunately, Dr Klingender's marxisant study of the poet's 'Romantic' writings missed the wider rural assumptions and 'populist' perspective involved in Wordsworth's Golden Age theories during the Industrial Revolution in England: 1770–1850.
- 200 Cf. W. Cobbett, *Cottage Economy* (1926 edn), p. 7; *PR* (14 April 1821) quoted in G. D. H. Cole, *op.cit.*, pp. 266–7; and R. Williams, *op.cit.*, pp. 35–7. On these grounds, too, they argued against the rise of trades unions. Such bodies, whether legal or not, undermined the independence of the individual worker to make his way in the world and set master against man. See William Wordsworth's cancelled 'Postscript' to the *Yarrow Revisited* volume of poems, published in 1835, printed in W. J. B. Owen and J. W. Smyser (ed.), *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth* (1974), Vol. 3, pp. 268–9 and 272–3; G. D. H. Cole, *op.cit.*, pp. 261–3 and 266–8.
- 201 Cf., for example, Phyllis Deane, *op.cit.*, p. 97: 'Between about 1820 and about 1845 the [cotton] industry's total output quadrupled and total incomes generated in Britain increased by 50 per cent, but the workers' wages barely rose at all'. See too Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968), p. 18.
- 202 William Wordsworth quoted by Henry Crabb Robinson, diary entry dated 31 May 1812, in Thomas Sadler (ed.), *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1869), Vol. 1, p. 389. See too William Wordsworth quoted in Jared Curtis, *op.cit.*, p. 90. Cf. *PR* (14 April 1821) quoted in Raymond Williams, *op.cit.*, p. 36: addressing the Nottingham stocking-weavers, who wanted to keep 'bagmen' out of the industry, and thereby prevent competition with the factory workers, Cobbett wrote: 'You are for cutting off the chain of connection between the rich and the poor. You are for demolishing all small tradesmen. You are for reducing the community to two classes: *Masters* and *Slaves*'.
- 203 Wordsworth's views of the Old Poor Law were revealed in the following verses: 'Guilt and Sorrow' (1842); 'The Baker's Cart' (comp. 1797; pub. 1940); 'The Cumberland Beggar' (1800); 'The Last of the Flock' (1798); *The Excursion* (1814), Bk 8; and 'The Warning' (1835); but his best defence of the principle of the Poor Law is found in the cancelled 'Postscript' to the *Yarrow Revisited* volume of poems published in 1835, and printed in W. J. B. Owen and J. W. Smyser, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 240–8. Cobbett's writings on the Old and New Poor Laws are immense. To save space I will refer the reader to the standard works, biographies and studies mentioned in the notes of this present chapter.

- 204 Wordsworth was first incensed by the new doctrines when they were applied to the old beggars and vagrants who made regular rounds in the Lake District. Cf. William Wordsworth quoted in Jared Curtis, *op.cit.*, p. 56.
- 205 W. Wordsworth, 'Postscript' (1835) in W. J. B. Owen and J. W. Smyser, *op.cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 240.
- 206 W. Cobbett, 14–10–1832, *Tour in Scotland* (1833), p. 101.
- 207 W. Wordsworth, 'Postscript' (1835) in W. J. B. Owen and J. W. Smyser, *op.cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 241–2.
- 208 William Cobbett, 13–11–1830, quoted in Raymond Williams, *op.cit.*, p. 26.
- 209 Cf. B. Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy* (1984), p. 607.
- 210 W. Cobbett, 'COBBETT'S ADVICE TO THE CHOPSTICKS' (Edinburgh, 14–10–1832) in Daniel Green (ed.), *Cobbett's Tour in Scotland by William Cobbett (1763–1835)* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1984), pp. 28–9.
- 211 W. Cobbett, 16–11–1832, *ibid.*, pp. 240–1.
- 212 William Wordsworth to Daniel Stuart, letter dated 22 June 1817, in E. De Selincourt, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 3, Pt ii (1812–20), p. 387.
- 213 W. Wordsworth, 'Postscript' (1835) in W. J. B. Owen and J. W. Smyser, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 242.
- 214 A. Brundage, *The Making of the New Poor Law: the Politics of Inquiry, Enactment and Implementation, 1832–1839* (London: Hutchinson, 1978), *passim*, esp. Chs 1 and 7.
- 215 Cobbett gives a list of land transfers in his *Rural Rides*, during 1825. See: William Cobbett, entry dated 31–10–1825, for the ride between Winchester and Burghclere, in E. W. Martin, *op.cit.*, pp. 264–5. The two leading historians of modern landed society, G. E. Mingay and F. M. L. Thompson, argue that the long-term effect of land transfers, especially, in the nineteenth century, was to reduce the number of yeoman and old-gentry estates rather than the number of old peerage and greater gentry estates. There was certainly a growth of new gentry families, in the period under study, at the general expense of the old ones, but the basic number of gentry estates remained the same as before. Nor does Thompson attribute the buying and selling of old gentry estates to sweeping impersonal forces of social and economic change, or to any conspiracy theory in Cobbett's sense; rather it was a recurrent feature of Old English society which probably reflected the changing domestic fortunes and personal needs and proclivities of the gentry families involved. G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (1963), pp. 26–8 and 72–3; and F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (1963), pp. 60–3 and 121–7.
- 216 W. Cobbett, 28–09–1822, *ibid.*, p. 16 incl. n. 1.
- 217 W. Cobbett, 21–11–1821, in J. P. Cobbett, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 37–8.
- 218 On the other hand, we have seen the social and economic advantages of this relative scarcity of gentry and peers, in the region, for the different groups of yeomen and artisans in the 'pre-industrial' period.
- 219 J. H. Porter, *op.cit.*, pp. 840–1; and esp., J. D. Marshall and C. A. Dyhouse, 'Social Transition in Westmorland, c.1760–1860', *NH*, 12 (1976), pp. 156–7.
- 220 William Wordsworth to Lord Lonsdale, letter dated 15 June [1825], in E. De Selincourt, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 4 [wrongly numbered Vol. 3], Pt i (1821–5), p. 370.
- 221 William Wordsworth to Daniel Stuart, letter dated 7 April 1817, in E. De Selincourt, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, Pt ii (1812–20), pp. 375–6.

- 222 William Wordsworth to Daniel Stuart, letter dated 7 April 1817, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, Pt ii (1812–1820), p. 376.
- 223 William Cobbett, 14–10–1832, *Cobbett's Tour in Scotland*, quoted in Daniel Green, *op.cit.*, p. 13.
- 224 William Cobbett quoted in Daniel Green, *ibid.*, p. 13.
- 225 William Cobbett, *PR*, 29 (16 Dec. 1815), p. 330.
- 226 Cf. *PR*, 30 (1816), p. 44.
- 227 D. Hay, 'Property, Authority and the Criminal Law', and 'Poaching and the Game Laws on Cannock Chase', in D. Hay, P. Linebaugh, J. G. Rule *et al.*, *Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (1975), pp. 17–63 and 189–253.
- 228 E. P. Thompson, 'The Crime of Anonymity' and 'Appendix: a Sampler of Letters', in D. Hay, P. Linebaugh, G. J. Rule *et al.*, *ibid.*, p. 279 and *passim*.
- 229 *Ibid.*, p. 307.
- 230 Thomas Carlyle quoted in Harold Perkin, *Origins of Modern English Society* (1969), p. 182. W. Cobbett, *A History of the Protestant 'Reformation' in England and Ireland* (1824), pp. 106–7, sec. 105. Cobbett wrote in glowing terms of Alfred's government and legacy to the English people: 'he, in fact, was the founder of all those rights, liberties and laws which made England to be what England has been, which gave her a character above that of other nations, which made her rich and great and happy beyond all her neighbours, and which still give her whatever she possesses of that pre-eminence'.
- 231 Cf. Cobbett's self-exile to Long Island, in the USA (1817–19). G. Spater, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 426.
- 232 *PR*, 32 (1817), pp. 770–1.
- 233 J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1688–1832* (1985), p. 354.
- 234 William Wordsworth to Lord Lonsdale, letter dated 21 January 1818, in E. De Selincourt, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 3, Pt ii (1812–20), p. 413.
- 235 The former were called 'Barons' and the latter 'Franklins' in the work mentioned. The following account of Coleridge's constitutional ideas owes a clear debt to Crane Brinton's lucid essay on the topic. *Idem*, *English Political Thought in the 19th Century* (1962), pp. 74–86.
- 236 They were estranged for most of the second decade of the nineteenth century.
- 237 It must be remembered that Cobbett had no sympathy for the great capitalists formed by the factory system. As G. D. H. Cole observed: 'He objected strongly to the new social consideration, the new influence in the State, which they were gaining: he had no desire for the "moderate Reform" which would install them in power instead of the old aristocracy'. Hence his ironic titles for the new factory owners: 'Seigneurs of the Twist, sovereigns of the Spinning Jenny, great yeomen of the Yarn'. 'Parliament,' he added, 'seems to have been made for you, and you for it'. G. D. H. Cole, *op.cit.*, p. 260.
- 238 Cf. W. Wordsworth, 'Two Addresses to the Freeholders of Westmorland' (1818) in W. J. B. Owen and J. W. Smyser (eds), *loc.cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 192–3.
- 239 The following account of Catholic Emancipation and Irish Nationalism draws heavily upon the first two volumes of Elie Halevy's history of the English people in the nineteenth century. E. Halevy, *The Liberal Awakening (1815–1830)* (tr. by E. I. Watkin) (London and New York: Ark Paperback, 1987), *passim*; and *idem*, *England in 1815* (1960), pp. 473–82.

- 240 W. Cobbett, *A History of the Protestant 'Reformation' in England and Ireland* (1824), p. 86, sec. 152.
- 241 *Ibid.*, p. 103, sec. 183; cf., p. 428.
- 242 R. Williams, *The Long Revolution* (1961), pp. 121–31; *idem*, *Culture and Society 1780–1950* (1963), pp. 37–8.
- 243 W. Cobbett, *op.cit.*, *passim*, esp. pp. 93–7, 220–9, 246–50, 259–61, and 271–2.
- 244 R. Williams, *Culture and Society 1750–1950* (1963), pp. 37–8; and G. D. H. Cole, *The Life of William Cobbett* (1947), p. 288; See too G. K. Chesterton, *William Cobbett* (undated), pp. 181–2. As W. D. Rubinstein observes: 'His group prejudices . . . were not general and were not necessarily those which were most widely shared. They were quite specific, aimed at groups which appeared to predominate in the financial and commercial elite, and which appeared to be the bearers of modern and rational values as opposed to those of rural and traditional England. The link between this and later populism seems plain, especially bearing in mind the very real democratic beliefs of Cobbett and his fellow radicals'. W. D. Rubinstein, 'British Radicalism and the "Dark Side" of Populism', p. 357.
- 245 Cf. the letters, 'On the Church of Rome', in C. Wordsworth (jnr), *loc.cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 132–53. The breadth and depth of Wordsworth's reading on the Catholic and Irish Questions can be gauged from the following books and pamphlets listed in the catalogue of the poet's library books made by J. Burton in 1859(?). (Reprinted by permission of the Wordsworth Trust.) Sir H. R. Inglis, *Speeches on the Roman Catholic question [sic.]* (1828), C., p. 6; J. Ryan, *A Disclosure of the principles [sic.], & c. of the Popish Revolutionary Faction in Ireland* (1838), C., p. 6; James I, *Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance* (1609), C., p. 8; Dr N. Johnson, *The Excellency of Monarchical Government, especially of the English Government* (1686), C., p. 8; Sir D. Lindsay, *The Monarchie* (1566), C., p. 8; G. Burnet (Bishop of Sarum), *An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England* (1714), C., p. 20; *idem*, *History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (1683–1715) – Vols 2 & 3 were put up for sale, but Wordsworth had also owned Vol. 1, C., p. 20; *Parliamentary Abstracts – 'the substance of all Important Papers laid before the two Houses of Parliament during the Sessions 1825–26'*, 2 Vols, C., p. 9; *Parliamentary History and Review of the Principal Measures of the Sessions 1825–26–27*, 4 Vols, C., p. 9; *Parliamentary Papers and Abstracts & c. & c.*, 1826, C., p. 9; Rev. F. Merewether, *The Case between the Church and the dissenters impartially and practically considered* (1827), C., p. 21; H. N. Coleridge, *Remarks on the Roman Catholic Question* (1827), C., p. 22; Rev. W. F. Hook, *The Church and the Establishment* (1834), C., p. 22; S. T. Coleridge, *On the Constitution of the Church and State & c.* (1830), C., p. 22; W. Warbuton, *The Alliance between Church and State* (1741), C., p. 19.
- 246 W. Wordsworth, 'Stanzas Suggested in a Steamboat off Saint Bees' Head, on the Coast of Cumberland' (comp. 1833; pub. 1835), ll. 136–44 in J. O. Hayden, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 753.
- 247 *Ibid.*, ll. 118–26, 127–35, and 145–8 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 752–3.
- 248 F. W. Faber was a young friend of Wordsworth's in the early 1840s, and often spoke freely with the old poet on theological and political matters. He was a leading light of the Oxford Movement, and later, like Newman, became a Catholic. In 1844 he reprinted Wordsworth's poem about the Gothic church at St Bees in his *Life of St Bega*, in Newman's *Lives of the*

- English Saints*, hymning it as 'an instance of the remarkable way in which his poems did in diverse places anticipate the revival of catholic doctrines among us'. F. W. Faber quoted and discussed in Stephen Gill, *op.cit.*, pp. 417-18.
- 249 Wordsworth's views of the doctrinal and civil advantages of the Anglican Church-State of the early nineteenth century over the Roman Catholic hierarchy and its several spheres of influence in Europe and Ireland are given in the following letters taken from Ernest De Selincourt (ed.), *loc.cit.*, Vol. 4, Pt i (1821-8): William Wordsworth to James Losh, 4 December 1821, pp. 97-8; *idem* to Viscount Lowther, 12 February 1825, pp. 309-15; *idem* to Lord Lonsdale, 5 May 1825, pp. 347-8; *idem* to Sir Robert Inglis, 11 June 1825, pp. 358-65; and *idem* to Benjamin Dockray, 2 December 1828, pp. 678-9.
- 250 Hence his conviction that the old whig and tory landowners ought to make greater efforts to improve the religious instruction and teaching in their neighbourhoods. After all, they often walked over 'vast estates which were lavished upon their ancestors by royal favouritism or purchased at insignificant prices after church-spoilation'. W. Wordsworth, 'Postscript, 1835', in W. J. B. Owen and J. W. Smyser, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 257.
- 251 E. Halevy, *England in 1815* (1960), p. 477.
- 252 M. D. George, *England in Transition* (1953), p. 114.
- 253 C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *A Short Economic and Social History of the Lake District 1500-1830* (1961), p. 62.
- 254 Cf. too the title of a little read but interesting poem, set in pre-Norman times, called 'A Fact and an Imagination or, Canute and Alfred, on the Sea-shore' (1820) in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 369-70.
- 255 The notion of the 'organic society' arose from the literary and philosophical movement of European Romanticism. Its influence has been most potent in Germany. Nevertheless, most conservatives in Europe 'view society as a single organism, having the special cohesiveness that comes only from being alive. They dismiss a liberal society as "atomistic", meaning disrupted dead atoms, held together merely mechanically. A society is allegedly made organic by religion, idealism, shared historical experiences like nationality, monarchy, or constitution, and the emotions of reverence, cooperation, loyalty. A society is allegedly made atomistic by materialism, class war, excessive *laissez-faire* economics, greedy profiteering, over analytical intellectuality, subversion of shared institutions, insistence on rights above duties, and the emotions of skepticism, cynicism, [and] plebeian envy'. P. Viereck, *Conservatism from John Adams to Churchill* (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand, Inc., 1956), p. 18. Alfred Cobban, however, has argued cogently that Edmund Burke's theory of the great social contract between the generations of mankind, which the Lake Poets used to justify their tory politics, was not strictly compatible with the Romantic notion of the 'organic society'. Burke held that commonwealths were 'moral essences' rather than physical ones; they were therefore not subject to the physical laws of growth and decay. A. Cobban, *Edmund Burke and the Revolt Against the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd edn (1960), pp. 89-90.
- 256 W. Wordsworth, 'Stanzas Suggested in a Steamboat off Saint Bees' Heads, on the Coast of Cumberland' (1835), ll. 154-62 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 753.

- 257 W. Cobbett, *op. cit.*, p. 105, sec. 182.
- 258 William Cobbett quoted, paraphrased and studied by G. D. H. Cole, *op. cit.*, pp. 293–4.
- 259 W. Wordsworth, 'Postscript, 1835', in W. J. B. Owen and J. W. Smyser, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 257; cf. pp. 255–6 for a valuable summary of Wordsworth's main objections to the 'voluntary system' of church building and religious instruction both in town and in country.
- 260 J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1688–1832* (1985), *passim*; *idem*, *Revolution and Rebellion* (1986), *passim*; and A. J. Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War* (1981), *passim*.
- 261 J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1688–1832* (1985), p. 354.
- 262 E. Halevy, *The Liberal Awakening (1815–1830)* (1987), pp. 216–17.
- 263 J. C. D. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 354–5 and 270–3. Cf. too R. K. Webb, *Modern England* (1980), pp. 141–3.
- 264 *Ibid.*, p. 354. Wordsworth maintained with some justice that the tory leadership itself, from Canning to Peel, was more responsible than the whigs for the defeat of the landed interest on all three reform questions. The party's principles were their political strength, not expedience and cunning. They had clearly allowed the question of reform to gain ground, in the post-war period, and were therefore left wide open for attack by the opposition whigs and their temporary allies, the radicals. Thus he wrote to Henry Crabb Robinson in November, 1833: '[M]y opinion is, that the People are bent upon the destruction of their ancient Institutions, and that nothing since, I will not say the *passing*, but since the broaching of the Reform Bill could, or can prevent it'. William Wordsworth to Henry Crabb Robinson, letter dated 14 November 1833, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 5, Pt ii (1829–34), p. 657.

4 Wordsworth and Burke: a Contrast

- 1 Cf. William Wordsworth quoted in Jared Curtis, *The Fenwick Notes of William Wordsworth* (1993), p. 41.
- 2 It is, perhaps, worth reminding the reader here that the 'Lake Poets' were William Wordsworth, Robert Southey and S. T. Coleridge. It is also customary to include Sir Walter Scott in the group on account of his personal friendship with its members, his residence in the Borderlands of Scotland, and his immense contribution to the early Romantic movement. Nevertheless, he was a conservative thinker from first to last.
- 3 W. Wordsworth, 'A Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff' (unfinished 1793) in J. O. Hayden, *William Wordsworth. Selected Prose* (1988), p. 158.
- 4 W. Wordsworth, 'Descriptive Sketches' (1793), ll. 520–9, in J. O. Hayden, *The Poems* (1977), Vol. 1, p. 911.
- 5 Thomas Paine quoted in Nicholas Roe, *Wordsworth and Coleridge: the Radical Years* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 68–9.
- 6 N. K. O'Sullivan, *Conservatism* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1976), pp. 11–12.
- 7 Jean Jacques Rousseau quoted in Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy* (1984), pp. 669–71.
- 8 Nor could he accept Bishop Watson's Burkean conclusion that republican government was the 'most oppressive to the bulk of the people' who live 'under the most odious of all tyrannies, the tyranny of their equals'.

- W. Wordsworth, 'A Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff' (1793) in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, pp. 144–5. For a detailed qualification of Rousseau's doctrine of the 'general will', both in theory and practice, see: Bertrand Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 672–4.
- 9 See Chapter 5.
 - 10 W. Wordsworth, 'A Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff' (1793) in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, pp. 142, 144–5, and 147.
 - 11 P. Viereck, *Conservatism from John Adams to Churchill* (1956), p. 13; and A. Cobban, *Edmund Burke and the Revolt Against the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd edn (1960), pp. 135–6.
 - 12 Thus Napoleon reflected, at Saint Helena, in his diary entry for 3 March 1817, that: 'I raised myself from nothing to be the most powerful monarch in the world. Europe was at my feet. I have always been of opinion that the sovereignty lay in the people. In fact, the imperial government was a kind of republic. Called to the head of it by the voice of the nation, my maxim was, *la carrière est ouverte aux talens* without distinction of birth or fortune, and this system of equality is the reason that your oligarchy hates me so much'. R. M. Johnston (ed.), 'The Corsican: a Diary of Napoleon's Life in His Own Words' (1910), excerpts reprinted in Dennis Sherman (ed.), *Western Civilisation: Images and Interpretations*, Vol. 2 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc. 1983), p. 116.
 - 13 Cf. W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (Text of 1805)*, Bk 10, esp. ll. 83–127, pp. 179–80 and ll. 128–88, pp. 180–2.
 - 14 *Ibid.*, Bk 10, ll. 179 and 185–6, p. 182. Thus he wrote, in 1809, that Bonaparte and his cohorts were clear proof of 'how wicked men of ordinary talents' were 'emboldened by success'. W. Wordsworth, 'The Convention of Cintra [A Tract]' (1809) in W. J. B. Owen and J. W. Smyser, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 302. See too the superb sonnets on Napoleon Bonaparte called '1801' and 'Calais, August, 1802' in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 558–9 and 575–6.
 - 15 A. Cobban, *op. cit.*, p. 141. Cf. A. Briggs, *The Age of Improvement 1783–1867* (1959), pp. 144–5.
 - 16 *Ibid.*, pp. 141–2. See too W. Wordsworth, 'The Convention Of Cintra [A Tract]' (1809) in W. J. B. Owen and J. W. Smyser, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 226.
 - 17 W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (Text of 1805)*, Bk 9, ll. 125–6 p. 154; and *idem*, *The Prelude* (1850 text), Bk 11, ll. 206–9, p. 355.
 - 18 A. Cobban, *op. cit.*, pp. 133–4 and 141–2.
 - 19 C. Brinton, *The Political Ideas of the English Romanticists* (1962), p. 106; F. M. Todd, *Politics and the Poet: a Study of Wordsworth* (1957), p. 12; and N. Roe, *op. cit.*, pp. 274–5.
 - 20 W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude* (1850 Text), Bk 7, l. 512.
 - 21 R. Kirk, *The Conservative Mind: from Burke to Eliot*, 6th rev. edn (1978), pp. 44–5.
 - 22 H. Melville, *Typee. A Peep at Polynesian Life* ([1st pub. 1846] Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972), p. 140. For a brief review of the 'noble savage' in French and English literature see: Basil Willey, *The Eighteenth Century Background. Studies in the Idea of Nature in the Thought of the Period* [1st pub. 1940] (London and New York: Ark Paperbacks, 1986), pp. 12–14.
 - 23 P. Viereck, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 36–7, and 102–3. The cultural conservative wages war against the shallowness of liberal material progress; to use Wordsworth's description of the poet, he is the 'rock and defence of human nature'. His

- emphasis is upon the dark depths and diversity of human experience and the different drives which move him to moral action – both good and evil. Man, not politics, is the object of his study.
- 24 E. Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* [1790] (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1910), p. 138.
- 25 *Ibid.*, pp. 74–5. For a fine account of Burke's prophetic statements on the French Revolution and its aftermath, see: Lord Hugh Cecil, *Conservatism* (London: Williams and Norgate [undated]), pp. 45–8.
- 26 In other words, 'the restraints on men, as well their liberties' were 'to be reckoned among their rights', *Ibid.*, pp. 57–8.
- 27 *Ibid.*, p. 137.
- 28 W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (Text of 1805)*, Bk 12, ll. 71–6, p. 220.
- 29 Edmund Burke quoted in Alfred Cobban, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
- 30 William Wordsworth to Charles James Blomfield (Bishop of London), letter dated 1 March 1829, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 5, Pt ii (1829–34), p. 42.
- 31 N. Roe, *op. cit.*, p. 274.
- 32 Jean Jacques Rousseau quoted in Bertrand Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 666. Cf. too N. Hampson, *The Enlightenment* (1968), p. 206.
- 33 W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (Text of 1805)*, Bk 9, l. 238, p. 157.
- 34 *Ibid.*, Bk 9, l. 239, p. 157; and *idem*, 'Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey' (1798), ll. 122–3 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 361.
- 35 Cf. William Wordsworth quoted in Jared Curtis, *loc. cit.*, p. 65.
- 36 W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (Text of 1805)*, Bk 12, ll. 185–93, p. 223.
- 37 Edmund Burke quoted in Russell Kirk, *op. cit.*, p. 45. He might well have agreed with Shakespeare's Prolixenes that 'Nature is made better by no mean/ But Nature makes that mean' (*The Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 89–90).
- 38 E. Burke, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
- 39 W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (Text of 1805)*, Bk 12, ll. 223–5, p. 224.
- 40 *Ibid.*, Bk 12, ll. 208–19, pp. 223–4.
- 41 Cf. Edmund Burke quoted in Russell Kirk, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–1; and Edmund Burke, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
- 42 W. Wordsworth, 'Preface to' the *Lyrical Ballads* (1800/2) in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 881. Cf. J. Lucas, *England and Englishness. Ideas of Nationhood in English Poetry 1688–1900* (1990), pp. 91–2. I have alluded to John Lucas's chapter on this point because it is one of the most recent and controversial accounts. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the study of Wordsworth's poetry from a political point of view is very old: if I were asked to give a sketch of its history I would start with Christopher Wordsworth (jnr) who wrote, in his *Memoirs of William Wordsworth* (1851), Vol. 1, p. 125, that: 'The clue to his poetical theory', in the *Lyrical Ballads*, 'in some of its more questionable details, may be found in his political principles; these had been democratical and still, though in some degree modified, they were of a republican character'. By the early twentieth century, both G. M. Harper and T. S. Eliot recognised that 'any radical change in poetic form is likely to be the symptom of some very much deeper change in society and in the individual'. Or, to put the matter another way, the poet's poetry and criticism must be read with 'the purposes and social passions which animated its author'. See T. S. Eliot, *The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism* ([1st pub. 1933] 1964), pp. 72–6.

- 43 R. Frost, 'Letter to' *The Amherst Student*, dated 25 March 1935, in H. Cox and E. C. Latham (eds), *Selected Prose of Robert Frost* (New York: Collier Books, 1968), p. 105.
- 44 Cf. E. Burke, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–5, 165–6, and *passim*.
- 45 *Ibid.*, pp. 87–96 and 168–9. In this regard Alfred Cobban rightly argued that, for Burke, 'the State itself' had 'a religious sanction'. The church was 'a national church not by accident but by its essential nature'. On the other hand, he went too far when he inferred from this political fact that Burke's standpoint was 'even more than Anglican' (*op. cit.*, p. 93). J. C. D. Clark, for instance, has shown that Burke's conservative views of society, in general, and the state, in particular, were based to a large extent upon the widely shared assumptions of Anglican political theology which formed 'a considered and long-standing component of the Whig defence of 1688 in the first half of the eighteenth century'. In fact, 'the stress on political theology accounts far more fully', in Clark's eyes, 'for the anti-utilitarian, anti-contractarian, "irrational" component of Burke's account of political action and motivation', in the last years of his life, than the conventional view of his 'sudden wild reaction to [events in] 1789'. J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1688–1832* (1985), p. 257.
- 46 *Ibid.*, p. 93.
- 47 Contrast the comments on this passage made by Raymond Williams, in *Culture and Society 1780–1950* (1963), p. 29.
- 48 Edmund Burke quoted and discussed in Russell Kirk, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–9.
- 49 E. Burke, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
- 50 Edmund Burke quoted and discussed in Russell Kirk, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–50. Cf. too E. Burke, *op. cit.*, pp. 56–7.
- 51 Edmund Burke quoted and discussed in Peter Viereck, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
- 52 E. Burke, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–9.
- 53 His career as a statesman, for example, was memorable for its eloquent defence of established whig principles of constitutional justice and liberty. On four great occasions he found himself at odds with the English government, large sections of the ruling class, or his own party. He thereby helped to restrain royal authority; opposed Lord North's oppressive taxation of the American colonies; called for the impeachment of Hastings for his arbitrary rule in India; and defended the *ancien régime* in France. For details see: R. Kirk, *op. cit.*, p. 14 and P. Viereck, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–9.
- 54 E. Burke, *op. cit.*, p. 243.
- 55 Edmund Burke quoted in Raymond Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
- 56 E. Burke, *op. cit.*, pp. 243–4.
- 57 See, for example, the 'French Revolution as it Appeared to Enthusiasts at its Commencement', in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 636–7. This poem was written in 1804 as part of *The Prelude* but also published five years later in *The Friend*. It is interesting to note, moreover, that Wordsworth made only a few minor changes of spelling and grammar to the final version of this affirmation of his early Romantic involvement in the French Revolution: W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (Text of 1850)*, Bk 11 ('France continued'), ll. 105–44, pp. 352–3.
- 58 According to Duncan Wu, in *Wordsworth's Reading 1770–1799* (1993), pp. 22–3, Wordsworth had read most of Burke's major works on politics in the 1790s: he suggests the following works were read at the stated times (or

- thereabouts): *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790): spring 1791, by 1793; *A Letter from Mr. Burke, to a Member of the National Assembly* (1791): by spring 1793; *A Letter From the Right Honourable Edmund Burke to a Noble Lord* (1796): 1796–7, by 1797; *Two Letters Addressed to a Member of the Present Parliament on the Proposals for Peace with the Regicide Directory of France* (1796): after 20 March 1797; *A Letter to the Duke of Portland* (1797): after 20 March 1797. My own research into the books owned by the poet at his death, in 1850, revealed a great interest in Burke's social and political writings. For example he owned 54 volumes of the *Annual Register, from its commencement (under the auspices of Edmund Burke), 1758 to 1820*. J. Burton, *Catalogue of the Varied and Valuable Historical, Theological, and Miscellaneous Library of the late Venerated Poet-Laureate, William Wordsworth, Esquire, D.L.C.* (1859), p. 2. According to Alfred Cobban, Burke 'almost certainly wrote the *Annual Register* from 1758 to 1765. Thomas English then began to work for it, and subsequently other assistants came in; though there is some evidence that as late as 1744 Burke was still the "principal conductor" and that he continued to be associated with the Register up to 1789'. A. Cobban, *op. cit.*, 'Note' facing p. xiv.
- 59 William Wordsworth to (Sir) William Rowan Hamilton, letter dated 22 November 1831, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 5, Pt ii (1829–34), p. 455.
- 60 Cf. N. K. O'Sullivan, *op. cit.*, p. 91; and E. Burke, *op. cit.*, p. 243.
- 61 William Wordsworth to Lord Lonsdale, letter dated 24 February 1832, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 5, Pt ii (1829–34), p. 500. Cf too E. Burke, *op. cit.*, pp. 168–9.
- 62 William Wordsworth to Lord Lonsdale, letter dated 24 February 1832, *ibid.*, Vol. 5, Pt ii (1829–34), pp. 500–1.
- 63 S. T. Coleridge to George Coleridge (elder brother), letter dated April 1798, in S. Potter (ed.), *Coleridge. Select Poetry & Prose* (London: The Nonesuch Press, 1971), p. 576.
- 64 A point also emphasised in Peter Viereck's conclusion to *Conservatism from John Adams to Churchill* (1956), p. 108.
- 65 N. K. O'Sullivan, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12.
- 66 A. Quinton, *The Politics of Imperfection: the Religious and Secular Traditions of Conservative Thought in England from Hooker to Oakeshott* (London: Faber and Faber, 1978), pp. 22–3.
- 67 *Ibid.*, pp. 65–6.
- 68 See Chapter 5.
- 69 C. Brinton, *The Political Ideas of the English Romanticists* (1962), p. 106; and F. D. Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, rev. edn (1968), pp. 103–4. It was also a direct result 'of the horrors perpetrated before his own eyes, in the sacred name of Liberty and Reason' during the French Revolution; see: C. Wordsworth (jnr), *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 252. Indeed Wordsworth pre-empted, by a hundred years, George Orwell's sceptical views of revolutionary idealists and academics who think 'any ends *can* be so good as to justify wrong means for attaining them': William Wordsworth quoted in Christopher Wordsworth (jnr), *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 254. Cf. George Orwell, 'Politics and the English Language', in W. F. Bolton and D. Crystal (eds), *The English Language. Volume Two: Essays by Linguists and Men of Letters 1858–1964* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 224–6.

- In the next chapter we will see that Wordsworth learnt this lesson the hard way, by once subscribing to such revolutionary views. See, for example, his unfinished 'Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff' (1793).
- 70 W. Wordsworth, 'Not in the lucid intervals of life' (1835), ll. 16–31 in J. O. Hayden, *The Poems* (1977), Vol. 2, p. 783.
- 71 W. Wordsworth, 'Ode: Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood' (comp. 1802–4; pub. 1807), ll. 58–77 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 525–6.
- 72 William Wordsworth quoted in Christopher Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 476.
- 73 W. Wordsworth, 'Home at Grasmere' (1806), ll. 136–51 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, pp. 700–1.
- 74 M. H. Friedman, *The Making of a Tory Humanist: William Wordsworth and the Idea of Community* (1979).
- 75 P. Aries, *Centuries of Childhood: a Social History of Family Life* (tr. by R. Baldick) (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), pp. 26 and 413–14.
- 76 *Ibid.*, p. 42.
- 77 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
- 78 *Ibid.*, p. 131.
- 79 *Ibid.*, pp. 131–2.
- 80 *Ibid.*, pp. 133 and 413–14.
- 81 R. A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family 1450–1700* (London and New York: Longman Group Ltd, 1984), p. 6. See too A. Wilson, 'The Infancy of the History of Childhood: an Appraisal Of Philippe Aries', *HT*, 19 (1980), pp. 132–53; P. Laslett, 'Philippe Aries & "La Famille"', *Encounter*, 46, No. 3 (March 1976), pp. 80–3; and *idem*, 'Characteristics of the Western Family', in P. Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 18–19 incl. n. 6.
- 82 William Wordsworth to Unknown Correspondent, letter dated by the editor about 1808(?), in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 2, Pt i (1806–11), p. 285.
- 83 W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (1805 Text)*, Bk 5, l. 279, p. 74.
- 84 H. Davies, *William Wordsworth. A Biography* (1980), p. 10.
- 85 She 'was', wrote Wordsworth, 'the heart/ And hinge of all our learnings and our loves'. W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (1805 Text)*, Bk 5, ll. 275 and 257–8, p. 74. Cf. A. M. Ellis, *Rebels and Conservatives. Dorothy and William Wordsworth and their Circle* (1967), pp. 4–5.
- 86 Ernest De Selincourt gives a short but insightful account of the poet's dislike of contemporary ideas of education; see: *The Prelude (1805 Text)*, pp. 265–6.
- 87 W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (1805 Text)*, Bk 5, ll. 286–7, p. 75.
- 88 J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland* (1777), Vol. 1, pp. 370–1.
- 89 Dorothy Wordsworth to Jane Pollard, letter quoted in Amanda M. Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12.
- 90 This statement will be qualified in the next chapter which deals with the topic of patronage.
- 91 Cf. A. M. Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
- 92 Cf. W. Wordsworth, Sonnet XXII, 'Catechising', in *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* (1822) in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 492–3; and W. Wordsworth, 'Autobiographical Memoranda' (1847) in J. O. Hayden (ed.), *William Wordsworth. Selected Prose* (1988), p. 4.

- 93 Moreover, are we wise to ascribe every instance of strong affection between parent and child to deeply rooted disturbances and unconscious crises in the parties involved? Compare, for instance, the second stanza composed, in 1762, by the Old Lakeland poet, Dr John Langhorne, author of 'The Country Justice', for the tomb of his mother, Isabel, in the Church at Kirkby Stephen in Westmorland:

For her I mourn,
Now the cold tenant of the thoughtless urn –
For her bewail these strains of woe,
For her these filial sorrows flow,
Source of my life, that led my tender years,
With all a parent's pious fears,
That nurs'd my infant thought, and taught my mind to grow.

The poem contains four stanzas in like strain, any one of which could have been written a decade later by the young Wordsworth for his own mother's headstone. Clearly, social 'class' or conditioning was also very important to the emotional attachments and personal involvements between mother and son in Old England. J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 549–50.

- 94 William Wordsworth, 'Autobiographical Memoranda' (1847) in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, p. 5. 'Gil Blas' refers to the work by Alaine Rene Le Sage called *Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane*.
- 95 Cf. W. Wordsworth, 'Preface to' *Lyrical Ballads* (1800/2) in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 873.
- 96 Amanda M. Ellis claims that Ann Wordsworth taught her children 'to scorn the fashionable Sandford and Merton books before they were nine', *op. cit.*, p. 6. She must mean 'in principle' because Thomas Day did not begin publishing his famous trilogy, called the *History of Sandford and Merton*, until 1783, when William Wordsworth was a teenager, and his mother had been dead for about five years. Likewise, Mrs Sherwood did not publish her popular *History of the Fairchild Family* until 1788. Furthermore, Maria Edgeworth's *The Parent's Assistant* did not appear until 1792. I. Pinchbeck and M. Hewitt, *Children in English Society* (1969), Vol. 1, pp. 299–300.
- 97 William Wordsworth to Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, letter dated late 1827, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 4, Pt i (1821–8), p. 565.
- 98 William Wordsworth quoted in Jared Curtis, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–4.
- 99 S. Gill, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–4.
- 100 Cf. W. Wordsworth, 'Autobiographical Memoranda' (1847) in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, p. 4. According to his death certificate, John Wordsworth died of 'dropsy'. S. Gill, *op. cit.*, p. 428, n. 89.
- 101 W. Wordsworth, 'The Vale of Esthwaite' (comp. 1786–8; pub. 1940), ll. 435–41 and 445–8, in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 62.
- 102 F. M. Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–30; and S. Gill, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–2.
- 103 Thomas Bowman Jnr quoted in T. W. Thompson, *Wordsworth's Hawkshead* (1970), p. 344. These remarks were made by Bowman, in 1885, during the grammar school's three hundredth birthday celebrations. Hence no specific date can be given for the poet's letter to him regarding the schoolmaster and his famous pupil.

- 104 William Wordsworth to Samuel Carter Hall, letter dated 15 January 1837, in A. G. Hill (ed.), *Letters of William Wordsworth* (1984), p. 277.
- 105 F. M. Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–9. Such works were highly charged with the Golden Age ideas and emotional energies of eighteenth-century humanitarianism and the cult of sensibility which began to bring objects of common life and concern into the public's view.
- 106 The connection between Wordsworth's radical politics and his boyhood interest in 'pastoral' poetry will be reviewed in Chapter 5.
- 107 Cf. S. Gill, *op. cit.*, p. 27; E. De Selincourt's edition of *The Prelude (1805 Text)*, p. 303; and M. L. Reed, *Wordsworth. The Chronology of the Early Years* (1967), p. 67. Re. the teaching staff at Hawkshead Grammar School: cf. Robert Woof's long and interesting note in T. W. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 342–5.
- 108 M. Moorman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 26.
- 109 H. Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 30. Cf. too the following poem which was based in part upon the life and character of William Taylor: 'Address to the Scholars of the Village School of 1798' (comp. 1798–9; pub. 1842) in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 389–90.
- 110 W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (1805 Text)*, Bk 10, ll. 489–514, pp. 190–1.
- 111 Philippe Aries quoted in Adrian Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 137–8.
- 112 W. D. Rubinstein, 'Wealth, Elites and the Class Structure in Modern Britain', in *idem, loc. cit.*, p. 65. Cf. too *idem, Capitalism, Culture, and Decline in Britain 1750–1990* (1993), pp. 143–4.
- 113 W. D. Rubinstein, 'The End of "Old Corruption" in Britain, 1780–1860', p. 280. Cf. too J. C. D. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 318–19.
- 114 A. J. Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War* (1981), pp. 9–11. Cf. too J. C. D. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
- 115 Cf. A. Macfarlane, *The Origins of Modern English Individualism* (1978), *passim*.
- 116 Alexis de Tocqueville quoted in Russell Kirk, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
- 117 J. C. D. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
- 118 *Ibid.*, p. 76.
- 119 P. Laslett, 'Introduction: the necessity of a historical sociology', in *idem, Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations* (1977), pp. 4–5. Re. 'the religious motive in the establishment and conduct of schools', in the 'Renaissance' period in England 1518–59, and especially in the 'Puritan' period 1559–60, see: I. Pinchbeck and M. Hewitt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 276–7.
- 120 M. D. George, *England in Transition* (1953), p. 136. Re. the role of religion in the Puritan and Anglican home, see: I. Pinchbeck and M. Hewitt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 223, 265, 267; and *ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 359–60.
- 121 Even Sir Joshua Reynolds, who flourished in the late eighteenth century, captured many delightful features of childhood innocence and freedom.
- 122 Cf. J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Town Labourer 1760–1832* (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd, 1966), pp. 190–1. Cf. too I. Pinchbeck and M. Hewitt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 299–300.
- 123 Cf. P. Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century* (rev. edn) (1961), pp. 370 and 372–3; and R. G. Collingwood, *The Principles of Art* (1938), pp. 99–101. Cf. too 'The Factory Master's Portrait' by P. M. McDouall. This brilliant but biased composition from the pen of a leading Chartist helps one to focus upon the theoretical points made by Mantoux and Collingwood. 'Examine him, and you will find that his whole knowledge

- extends to the revolution of wheels; and although possessed of immense wealth, he knows nothing except the process of making cotton cloth or the most cunning way to drive a bargain. Every action of his life is measured by a foot-rule, and every thing he does is regulated by pounds, shillings and pence. He is grossly ignorant on all other subjects, and will express as much surprise at the mention of any subject for discussion on religion or politics, as if he was only a machine for producing calico, or a patent ledger for calculating profit and loss.[...] He lives for no other purpose than to calculate, and the only end of his existence is to gain.' P. M. McDouall, *Chartist Journal and Trades' Advocate*, 25 September 1841, quoted in Neville Kirk, 'In Defence of Class. A Critique of Recent Revisionist Writing upon the Nineteenth-Century English Working Class', *IRSH*, 32 (1987), p. 28.
- 124 For his part, Houlbrooke claims that 'the elementary or nuclear family typically occupied a central place in the life and aspirations of the individual between 1450 and 1700 as it still does today'. R. A. Houlbrooke, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
- 125 J. Housman, *A Topographical Description of Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, and a Part of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (1800), p. 64 re. Cumberland and p. 105 re. Westmorland.
- 126 J. H. Porter, 'The Development of Rural Society', in G. E. Mingay (ed.), *AHEW*, VI, 1750–1850 (1989), p. 873.
- 127 *Ibid.*, p. 875. See too G. P. Jones, 'Continuity and Change in Surnames in Four Northern Parishes', *CW2*, 73, 10 (1973), pp. 143–47.
- 128 J. Thirsk, 'Industries in the Countryside', in F. J. Fisher (ed.), *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England* (1961), pp. 83–4.
- 129 Cf. M. Arnold, 'Wordsworth', in *idem*, *Essays in Criticism. Second Series* (1888), p. 153.
- 130 W. Hutchinson, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 415.
- 131 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 419.
- 132 Cf. A. Pringle, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Westmoreland* (1794), p. 30.
- 133 For example, common weavers and their families, in the seventeenth century, were often reliant upon 'cottonneers', or clothiers, who normally lived in towns, for the purchase of their webs. C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *A Short Economic and Social History of the Lake Counties 1500–1830* (1961), pp. 140–1.
- 134 J. H. Clapham quoted in C. M. L. Bouch, *Prelates and People of the Lake Counties* (1948), pp. 408–9.
- 135 Henry Brougham quoted in F. W. Garnett, *Westmorland Agriculture 1800–1900* (1912), p. 5.
- 136 W. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 516.

5 Wordsworth: a Weberian Account

- 1 V. G. Kiernan, 'Wordsworth and the People' (1956) and 'Postscript' thereto (1973), pp. 174–5, 184, 187–8, 196, and 204–5. E. P. Thompson, 'Disenchantment or Default? A Lay Sermon', in C. C. O'Brien and W. D. Vaneech (eds), *Power & Consciousness* (London: University of London Press Ltd, 1969), p. 173 ff; and *idem*, 'Hunting the Jacobin Fox', in *PP*, 142, Feb. (1994), p. 130 ff, esp. pp. 136–7.

- 2 D. Simpson, *Wordsworth's Historical Imagination. The Poetry of Displacement* (1987), p. 155.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 126: 'As Wordsworth is unsure of his own place in this ideal economy, so too is his portrayal of it as an objective entity also unstable and inscribed with conflict'. Similar arguments have been used to understand and stigmatise the Golden Age ideals of Oliver Goldsmith's poem, 'The Deserted Village' (1770). *Ibid.*, pp. 22–5 and *passim*; and J. Lucas, *England and Englishness. Ideas of Nationhood in English Poetry 1688–1900* (1990), pp. 5 and 55–70 and *passim*. The weaknesses of their historical arguments about enclosure, population growth and distribution and so on have been dealt with in Chapters 1–3.
- 4 J. Lucas, *ibid.*, p. 106. Of course, the post-structural standpoint is not so steady as the Marxist upon the precise nature of social and economic forces of change. Nonetheless, Professor Simpson accepts much of the Marxist critique of social and economic relations and re-fashions the notions of 'ideology', 'alienation' and 'false-consciousness' to suit his own 'materialist literary criticism': D. Simpson, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–18.
- 5 Robert Browning labelled Wordsworth as the 'lost leader' of radical poetry, but Shelley had already attacked the Lake poet in similar terms for his tory politics in *The Excursion* (1814). See, for instance, J. K. Chandler, "'Wordsworth" after Waterloo', in K. R. Johnston and G. W. Ruoff (eds), *The Age of William Wordsworth. Critical Essays on the Romantic Tradition* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1987), pp. 84–111.
- 6 E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1 (1787–1805), p. 11 n. 2.
- 7 Dorothy Wordsworth to Jane Pollard, letter dated 6 and 7 August 1787, in E. De Selincourt, *ibid.*, Vol. 1 (1787–1805), p. 7. Wordsworth's liking for the legal profession was, one gathers, mainly the result of his father's role model. Nevertheless, it was also highly conventional. At least, nearly 60 per cent of Cambridge graduates entered 'the Anglican clergy until after the 1860s and another significant portion' entered the bar. W. D. Rubinstein, *Capitalism, Culture, and Decline in Britain 1750–1990* (1993), p. 137.
- 8 Cf. A. M. Ellis, *Rebels and Conservatives. Dorothy and William Wordsworth and their Circle* (1967), p. 16.
- 9 B. R. Schneider Jr, *Wordsworth's Cambridge Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), p. 15–16 and 28–9.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 22. The professors too looked upon their positions as sinecures rather than employments (*ibid.*, p. 20).
- 13 W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (Text of 1805)*, Bk 3, ll. 531–9, pp. 48–9.
- 14 *Ibid.*, Bk 3, ll. 626–43, pp. 51–2.
- 15 *Ibid.*, Bk 3 *passim*.
- 16 B. R. Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
- 17 *Ibid.*, pp. 40–7.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 40.
- 19 *Ibid.*, pp. 40–1.
- 20 Cf. B. R. Schneider, *ibid.*, p. 42.
- 21 Cf. M. Moorman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 86; and Dorothy Wordsworth to Jane Pollard, letter dated [–] November 1787, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1 (1787–1805), p. 11; and W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (Text of 1805)*, Bk 3, ll. 35–43, p. 35.

- 22 B. R. Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 41. Watson cut a quaint figure at Cambridge: his rustic dress earning him the nickname of the 'Westmorland Phenomenon' (W. Parson and W. White, *History, Directory, and Gazetteer [of the Lake Counties]* (1829), p. 622). See too *DNB*, XX, p. 935.
- 23 Clement Carlyon, *Early Years and Late Reflections* (1836) quoted in F. M. Todd, *Politics and the Poet. A Study of Wordsworth* (1957), pp. 19–20.
- 24 Cf. B. R. Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 42. It is interesting to note, in this regard, that Wordsworth's Hawkshead friend, Robert Greenwood, worked hard and became a fellow of Trinity College. We have already seen in Chapter 1 that Greenwood was the son of a 'statesman' farmer in Ingleton, Yorkshire. It is hard to square his success, at Cambridge, with Schneider's argument.
- 25 Cf. W. Wilberforce, *Journey to the Lake District from Cambridge 1779. [A diary written by William Wilberforce]* (ed. by C. E. Wrangham) (Stockfield: Oriel Press, 1983), *passim*.
- 26 B. R. Schneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–6. Cf. the strictures on whig historians in J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1688–1832* (1985), p. 102 incl. n. 196.
- 27 J. C. D. Clark, *ibid.*, pp. 102–3.
- 28 R. Williams, *The Long Revolution* (1961), p. 247.
- 29 J. C. D. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 103, n. 198.
- 30 Elie Halevy quoted in Michael H. Friedman, *The Making of a Tory Humanist: William Wordsworth and the Idea of Community* (1979), p. 77.
- 31 Christopher Cookson to Richard Wordsworth (the poet's brother), letter dated 18 December 1789, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1 (1787–1805), Appendix 1, p. 667.
- 32 M. Moorman, *William Wordsworth: A Biography* (1957) [= Vol. 1], p. 124.
- 33 W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (Text of 1805)*, Bk 3, ll. 35–43, p. 35.
- 34 *Ibid.*, Bk 3, ll. 35–43, p. 35 and, ll. 249–58, p. 41.
- 35 Cf. B. R. Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
- 36 Dr Schneider, however, offers a very fine account of this system of reading and examination in his review of Wordsworth's Cambridge years: *ibid.*, pp. 28–38.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 24 ff.
- 38 *Ibid.*, pp. 23–4 and 14–15 re. the 'Winthrop Case'.
- 39 W. Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, Bk 3, ll. 64–8 and 71–2, pp. 35–6. See too Bk 3, ll. 630–1, p. 51. And cf. B. R. Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 25 re. the cult of 'expediency' or 'self-interest' by the students.
- 40 *Ibid.*, Bk 2, ll. 69–73, p. 22. Cf. B. R. Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
- 41 *Ibid.*, Bk 3, ll. 343–66, pp. 43–4.
- 42 *Ibid.*, Bk 3, ll. 73–81, p. 36.
- 43 William Hazlitt, 'Character of Mr. Wordsworth's New Poem, *The Excursion*', published in Leigh Hunt's *Examiner*, 21 August, 28 August, and 2 October 1814, quoted and discussed in Stephen Gill, *William Wordsworth: a Life* (1989), p. 304.
- 44 W. Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, Bk 3, ll. 82–4 and 101–20, pp. 36–7.
- 45 William Wordsworth to William Mathews, letter dated 23 September 1791, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1 (1787–1805), p. 59.
- 46 M. Weber, 'The Sociology of Charismatic Authority', in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (ed. and tr.), *From Max Weber. Essays in Sociology* (1948), pp. 248–54. A more extensive translation of Max Weber's views of the

- difference between bureaucratic, patriarchal, and charismatic authority is found in W. G. Runciman and E. Matthews (ed. and tr.), *Max Weber. Selections in Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), Ch.11: 'The Nature of Charismatic Domination', pp. 226–50.
- 47 William Wordsworth, 'The Pedlar' (draft comp. 1798), quoted in John Williams, *Wordsworth: Romantic Poetry and Revolution Politics* (1989), p. 86.
- 48 W. Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, Bk 3, ll. 121–9, p. 37.
- 49 *Ibid.*, Bk 4, ll. 33–67 and 268–316, pp. 53–4 and 61.
- 50 Three types of mystical experience present themselves most often to the historian of art and culture. At least, I have evolved this three-fold typology from several works of philosophy, art, religion and psychology as a guide to understanding Wordsworth's varied religious experience. An 'emotional' type is epitomised by the 'heart' of the subject which knows inner certainty and truth by a powerful awareness of, and belief in, the importance of a religious emotion, or feeling, in bringing personal salvation: for instance, the religious conversions of the Quaker, George Fox, and the Methodist, John Wesley. An 'intellectual' type of mystical experience is known to the subject through the faculties of self-conscious thought and reason: for instance, the 'infused contemplation' of St Thomas Aquinas, the deductive validity of Spinoza's monistic theory, the logical 'truth' of Hegel's 'dialectic', and the philosophical intuition of F. W. J. Schelling's Romantic metaphysics. Last, but not least, in this triumvirate, the 'visionary' type of experience is epitomised by the element of imaginative truth – even if the subject is not artistic in the technical sense: his 'visions' may be dreamt, or invoked by waking consciousness, or given spontaneously by the pressure of outward events; in any case, they reveal spiritual values and complex meanings to the subject: for instance, the obscure religious writings of Jacob Boehme, the personal mythology of William Blake, the bizarre revelations of Hieronymus Bosch and Francisco Goya, and the haunting landscapes of Caspar David Friedrich. This distinction, however, is not rigid in theory or fixed in practice. All three elements may be present in the head and heart of the subject – for example, Plato's sublime allegory of the cave and Nietzsche's prophetic book of 'Zarathustra'. Be this as it may, one or two elements usually prevail. Thus Wordsworth's 'poetic dedication' is, primarily, an emotional conversion in the sense that his heart rather than his head was the seat of its artistic and religious significance. On the other hand, the 'spots of time', mentioned in Book 11 of *The Prelude (Text of 1805)* are, basically, 'visionary' events and reveal their several truths in, and to, the imagination – or 'the vision and the faculty divine'.
- 51 *Ibid.*, Bk 4, ll. 330–9, p. 62.
- 52 *Ibid.*, Bk 4, ll. 340–5, p. 62.
- 53 M. Weber, *Basic Concepts in Sociology* (tr. and intro. by H. P. Secher) (London: Peter Owen, 1962), p. 36; cf. pp. 30–2 and 15–16 Secher's 'Introduction'.
- 54 W. Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, Bk 1, ll. 139 and 158, pp. 4 and 5.
- 55 Cf. M. Weber, 'The Nature of Charismatic Domination', pp. 231–2.
- 56 Cf. W. Wordsworth, 'Lines Written in Early Spring' (1798), l. 22 in J. O. Hayden (ed.), *William Wordsworth. The Poems* (1977), Vol. 1, p. 312.
- 57 W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (Text of 1805)*, Bk 3, ll. 171–2, p. 38.
- 58 *Ibid.*, Bk 6, l. 139, p. 86.

- 59 M. Weber, 'The Sociology of Charismatic Authority', p. 246.
- 60 Cf. W. Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, Bk 6, ll. 19–54, p. 86.
- 61 M. Weber, *Basic Concepts in Sociology* (1962), pp. 31–2.
- 62 *Ibid.*, p. 14, Secher's 'Introduction'.
- 63 M. Weber, 'The Sociology of Charismatic Authority', p. 248.
- 64 *Ibid.*, p. 247: in its 'pure' form, 'charisma is never a source of private gain for its holders in the sense of economic exploitation by the making of a deal'.
- 65 *Ibid.*, p. 246.
- 66 William Wordsworth graduated BA on 21 January 1791.
- 67 William Wordsworth to William Mathews, letter dated 23 September 1791, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1 (1787–1805), pp. 57–8.
- 68 Dorothy Wordsworth to Jane Pollard, letter dated 7 December 1791, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1 (1787–1805), p. 66.
- 69 William Wordsworth to William Mathews, letter dated 23 November 1791, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1 (1787–1805), p. 62.
- 70 John Robinson to William Wordsworth, letter dated 6 April 1788, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1 (1787–1805), p. 18 n. 4.
- 71 Richard Wordsworth to his uncle Richard Wordsworth of Whitehaven, letter dated 7 November 1791, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1 (1787–1805), p. 61 n. 1.
- 72 Cf. M. Moorman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 208–9.
- 73 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 212–14.
- 74 Johnson was 'considered [to be] the father of the book trade' in London. He was also publisher of the *Analytical Review*, between 1788 and 1799: see *DNB*, X, pp. 909–10.
- 75 Until Raisley Calvert Junior was twenty-one years of age, his father's legacy was held in trust by the Duke of Norfolk. M. Moorman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 229–30.
- 76 The most credible view of Wordsworth's friendship with the Calverts, in the period 1794–5, is given by Mary Moorman, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, Ch. 8; but a shrewd account of the poet's dependence is found in Hunter Davies's book, *William Wordsworth. A Biography* (1980), pp. 68–74.
- 77 William Wordsworth to Sir George Beaumont, letter dated 23 February 1805, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1 (1787–1805), p. 546. Cf. too W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (Text of 1805)*, Bk 13, ll. 342–59, pp. 238–9.
- 78 M. Moorman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 266–7.
- 79 Cf. J. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
- 80 M. Moorman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 325.
- 81 The best account of the spy story and its meaning for social historians is given by E. P. Thompson, in 'Disenchantment or Default? A Lay Sermon' (1969).
- 82 Re. Cottle see: *DNB*, IV, pp. 1221–2 and *MEB*, 1, pp. 727–8. Re. Stuart see: *DNB*, XIX, pp. 75–6.
- 83 Re. Sotheby, see: *DNB*, XVIII, pp. 673–6. Re. Longman, see: *DNB*, XII, p. 123. Re. Rogers, see: *DNB*, XVII, pp. 139–42.
- 84 No doubt too it made the plight of the rural poor seem even more desperate and unjust.
- 85 R. Williams, *Culture and Society 1780–1950* (1963), Ch. 2, esp. pp. 49–51; and *idem*, *The Long Revolution* (1961), Part Two. See too the standard accounts of 'Arts and Letters' at the time, for example, E. Halevy, *England in 1815* (1960 edn), Pt III, Ch. ii.

- 86 Cf. E. Halevy, *ibid.*, p. 509. The 'copy-right' to the *Lyrical Ballads* was more lucrative to the poet than we might think: For instance, Joseph Cottle bought the copyright to *Lyrical Ballads* (1798), for the sum of 60 guineas: thirty each for the poets (Coleridge and Wordsworth). By a strange series of events the copyright was returned to Wordsworth, in 1799, because Cottle gave up publishing books and Longman did not want it. In consequence, when a second edition of the *Lyrical Ballads* was called for, in 1800, Longman offered the owner (Wordsworth) 80 pounds 'for the right of printing two editions of 750 each of this vol. of poems and . . . one of 1000 [and] another of 750 of another volume of the same size'. Cf. Thomas Norton Longman quoted in Mary Moorman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 486-7; and W. J. B. Owen, 'Costs, Sales and Profits of Longman's Editions of Wordsworth', *Library*, 5th ser. 12 (1957), pp. 93-4 incl. n. 4.
- 87 Cf. H. Davies, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-3.
- 88 Cf. M. Moorman, *William Wordsworth. A Biography* (1965) [= Vol. 2], pp. 100-1.
- 89 Letter to [-] Constable, dated 1808, quoted in Elie Halevy, *loc. cit.*, p. 499.
- 90 These figures are drawn from the table of 'Nominal Annual Earnings . . . [for] England and Wales, 1710-1911', in B. R. Mitchell, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (1988), p. 153.
- 91 In a letter to her aunt, Elizabeth Rawson, in 1798, Dorothy wrote that: 'Our expenses last year [were] 23 L. for rent, our journey to London, clothes, servant's wages & c included, only amounted to 110 L.' That 'only' is perhaps worth noting. Dorothy Wordsworth to Mrs W. Rawson, letter dated 13 June and 3 July 1798, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1 (1787-1805), p. 224.
- 92 Cf. *DNB*, XVII, pp. 1020 and 1022. In December 1799, he was appointed to the position of Sheriff-deputy of Selkirkshire, in Scotland, for the handsome salary of 300 pounds a year.
- 93 Cf. E. Halevy, *op. cit.*, pp. 396-8. Cf. too the account of Lake District curacies given in Chapter 2.
- 94 Wordsworth's friend, William Mathews, was a case in point. His mental and physical health failed quickly in the teaching profession - in part, from the poor income and, in part, from the office itself. For his part, Wordsworth was convinced that 'even less than' a hundred pounds a year would be sufficient to secure 'that independence' which his friend so ardently wished for. Cf. W. Wordsworth to W. Mathews, letters dated 23 September and 23 November 1791, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1 (1787-1805), pp. 59 and 62.
- 95 M. Moorman, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 251; and *DNB*, XVII, pp. 15-17.
- 96 William Wordsworth to Sir George Beaumont, letter dated 12 March 1805, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1 (1787-1805), p. 555.
- 97 Cf. the books and page references given in notes 1-3 above.
- 98 M. Weber, 'The Sociology of Charismatic Authority', pp. 247-8.
- 99 Cf. W. Wordsworth, 'Written in London, September, 1802' (1807), l. 11 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 580. Regarding Wordsworth's stringent diet and frugal lifestyle, see the standard biographies by Moorman and Gill.
- 100 W. Wordsworth, 'Prospectus to' *The Excursion* (1814), ll. 60-1 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 39. M. Weber, 'The Sociology of Charismatic Authority', p. 247.

- 101 Cf. William Wordsworth to Joseph Cottle, letter dated 27 July 1799, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1 (1787–1805), p. 267.
- 102 Cf. William Wordsworth to Sir George Beaumont, letter dated 12 March 1805, in E. De Selincourt, *ibid.*, Vol. 1 (1787–1805), p. 555.
- 103 William Wordsworth to Sir George Beaumont, letter dated 20 July 1804, in E. De Selincourt, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, (1787–1805), p. 491. In a letter to the same patron, dated 12 March 1805, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 554, he wrote candidly that ‘with regard to money received from strangers or those with whom a Man of Letters has little personal connection, nothing can justify this but strong necessity, for the thing is an evil in itself; the right or the wrong in this case will be regulated by the importance of the object in view, and the inability to attain it without this or other means being resorted to. With respect to personal Friends; according to the degree of Love between them and the value they set upon each other the necessity will diminish or weigh with scrupulous jealousy and fear whether such gifts should be received and to what amount: nevertheless in this[,] as in every other species of communication[,] good sense, strict moral principle, and the greatest delicacy on both sides ought to prevail’.
- 104 Cf. M. Moorman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 586–8; and Vol. 2, pp. 36–7 and 428. Sir George Beaumont died in 1827.
- 105 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 559–61; and Vol. 2, pp. 59–63, 241 and 243–4. In 1806 Wordsworth bought the freehold estate of Broad How, in Patterdale, Westmorland, for L1000. Lord Lonsdale, without Wordsworth’s prior knowledge, gave L200 towards the purchase price. (Wordsworth used his wife’s 400 pound dowry to pay off the mortgage in 1809.)
- 106 Cf. W. Wordsworth, ‘To B. R. Haydon’ (1816), l. 1 in J. O. Hayden, *The Poems* (1977), Vol. 2, p. 317.
- 107 See the following books for examples of this argument: M. Moorman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 167–9; F. M. Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 and 21; and S. Gill, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–5.
- 108 The debt – excluding interest – was c. 4700 pounds. M. Moorman, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 71.
- 109 M. Friedman, *op. cit.*, *passim* – esp. ‘Introduction’, pp. 4–5, Chapters 1 and 2, and ‘Conclusion’, pp. 295–302.
- 110 *Ibid.*, Ch. 1, *passim*.
- 111 The argument given by Friedman has two basic elements. On the one hand, he maintains that Wordsworth’s mother was ‘the prototype for all subsequent experience of affective community’. In other words, his imaginative ‘sense of vastness and omnipotence’, his ‘sentiment of being’, in boyhood was based upon his emotional bond to his mother. Her ‘love seems to have constituted this golden age. Without her love and in communities without sufficient affective relations’, like London, ‘he was a solitary whose very solidity of being was threatened’ (*ibid.*, pp. 10–11). On the other hand, he claims that Wordsworth’s ‘egoistic strivings for his mother’ and ‘fear of paternal retribution belong to a later period of Wordsworth’s psychic history than do the origins of the sentiment of being and the [oceanic] feelings of mastery over the outside world’ (*ibid.*, p. 15).
- 112 H. Havelock Ellis, *Psychology of Sex* (London: Pan Books Ltd, 1959), p. 85. In the same way, the anthropologist Malinowski argued that Freud overlooked the culture-specific nature of the ‘Oedipal complex’, which could

- only arise in the patriarchal family of modern times (*ibid.*, pp. 85–6).
- 113 *Ibid.*, p. 85. Cf. too S. Freud, *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* (tr. by J. Riviere) (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1923), p. 175.
- 114 Otto Rank quoted and paraphrased in Henry Havelock Ellis, *ibid.*, pp. 88–9.
- 115 Cf. S. Gill, *op. cit.*, 'Introduction' and Pt I, Ch. 1: 1770–1789. Cf. too William Wordsworth quoted in Ernest De Selincourt, *The Prelude (Text of 1805)*, p. x.
- 116 H. Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
- 117 F. M. Todd, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
- 118 Dorothy Wordsworth to Jane Pollard, letter dated late July 1787, quoted in F. M. Todd, *ibid.*, pp. 16–17.
- 119 W. Wordsworth, 'Autobiographical Memoranda', in J. O. Hayden, *William Wordsworth. Selected Prose* (1988), pp. 4–5.
- 120 Cf. too the note on this famous poem in Jared Curtis, *The Fenwick Notes of William Wordsworth* (1993), p. 56.
- 121 William Paley quoted and discussed in J. C. D. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
- 122 Compare the admirable treatment of the Calvert family by the Duke of Norfolk.
- 123 Nor was the 'thorny labyrinth of litigation' easily forgotten. Its costly delays and strange procedures were received by the young poet as insults added to injury. See: W. Wordsworth, 'A Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff' (1793) in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, p. 157. Cf. W. Wordsworth, 'Imitation of Juvenal – Satire VIII' (comp. 1795–6), ll. 12–13 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 142. Likewise, he wrote scathingly of Hugh Percy, who was knighted in 1788:

But ye who make our manners, laws, and sense,
Self-judged can with such discipline dispense,
And at your will what in a groom were base
Shall stick new splendour on his gartered grace. (*Ibid.*, Bk 2, ll. 53–6, p. 143)

The lines were no less appropriate to Sir James Lowther – from the poet's point of view.

- 124 N. Roe, *Wordsworth and Coleridge: the Radical Years* (1988), pp. 36–7 and 45–6.
- 125 J. Brewer, 'English Radicalism in the Age of George III', in J. G. A. Pocock, *loc. cit.*, p. 331.
- 126 *Ibid.*, p. 334 ff.
- 127 *Ibid.*, p. 347.
- 128 H. Perkin, *Origins of Modern English Society* (1969), p. 182.
- 129 W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (Text of 1805)*, Bk 9, ll. 218–49, pp. 157–8. Wordsworth's actual school life at Hawkshead was spent, as G. M. Trevelyan observed, 'amid the healthy companionship of north-country yeomen's sons'. Nor was it burdened with 'organised athleticism, examination, inspection or competition'. When combined with his 'scrambling and rambling' among the hills and dales of the north, and other 'boyish pursuits', we can better balance the competing claims of Wordsworth's formal education and 'mountain liberty' as general social causes of his early republican creed. Above all, the social and economic equality of Old Lakeland was epitomised in the old system of endowed grammar schools as much as the statesmen

- system of farming. No major distinctions were made between the boys in the classroom or between them and their community. Even their 'diversions' were the same: they wandered everywhere; they raided raven's nests; boated on Coniston water; went horse-riding among the ruins of Furness Abbey; rattled hazel-trees for fresh nuts, and fished for trout, char and pike; and so on. In consequence, 'the poet in the child survived into the man'. Cf. G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century and After (1782-1919)* (1939), p. 28 incl. n. 1. See too *idem*, *History of England* (1926), pp. 522-3.
- 130 J. Williams, *Wordsworth: Romantic Poetry and Revolution Politics* (1989), p. 5.
- 131 *Ibid.*, p. 39. 'This is not to argue that Wordsworth became in any strict sense a latter-day Commonwealthman, rather that he contextualised the issues in terms of the mid-eighteenth-century debates on liberty, property and power where Commonwealthman ideology was a powerful and influential source of rhetoric.'
- 132 *Ibid.*, p. 162. Wordsworth's reading of classical literature at Hawkshead Grammar School has been studied by Ben Ross Schneider as basic to his early republican beliefs – for instance, his knowledge of Cicero's famous book *De Officiis* offered him a moral ideal of political virtue and civic responsibility like that found in ancient Rome and her provinces. Above all, it gave him a classical version of human law and behaviour which was subject to the universal law of Nature – even though the idea of Nature was very different in Wordsworth's day. Cf. B. R. Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 76. Cf. too B. Willey, *The Eighteenth Century Background* (1989 edn), *passim*.
- 133 *Ibid.*, p. 129.
- 134 *Ibid.*, pp. 128-9.
- 135 J. Brewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 342-4. Cf. too R. E. Richey, 'The Origins of British Radicalism: the Changing Rationale for Dissent', *ECS*, 7 (1973-74), pp. 179-92. Richey concludes that: 'Dissent had come into being in loyalty to Puritan ideals and Puritan objections to Anglicanism . . . But in the course of the [eighteenth] century the language used in self-defense, the language of the Toleration Act, of Locke and of Whiggery came gradually to displace the objections to Anglicanism. This language was internalized as a self-understanding and the identity of Dissent was thereby transformed. The Dissenting radicalism of the late eighteenth century was then a working out of new roles consistent with the new sense of identity' (*ibid.*, pp. 191-2).
- 136 I. Kramnick, *Bolingbroke and his Circle. The Politics of Nostalgia in the Age of Walpole* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 252-60.
- 137 *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13. Although the Act was easily overcome, in practice, it was a political coup, in principle, for Lord Bolingbroke's Opposition which had defeated the concerted efforts of Walpole's whig administration.
- 138 *Ibid.*, p. 260.
- 139 Cf. B. R. Schneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-6.
- 140 N. Roe, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6 and 20.
- 141 W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude* (1850), Bk 9, ll. 518-32, p. 331.
- 142 E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1968), pp. 103-4.
- 143 See the short bibliography on the subject of Wordsworth's debt to the French and English radicals in John Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-7.

- 144 E. N. Hooker, 'Wordsworth's Letter to the Bishop Of Llandaff', *SIP*, 28 (1931), pp. 522–31. Wordsworth probably read Paine's books during the spring of 1791 (*Rights of Man*, Part 1 [1791], and *Common Sense* [1776]) and the spring of 1792–3 (*Rights of Man*, Part 2 [1792]). He definitely read the said books by the spring of 1793. D. Wu, *Wordsworth's Reading 1770–1799* (1993), pp. 109–10.
- 145 W. D. Rubinstein, 'British Radicalism and the "Dark Side" of Populism', in *idem*, *loc. cit.*, p. 354. See too I. Kramnick, *Bolingbroke and his Circle. The Politics of Nostalgia in the Age of Walpole*, *passim*.
- 146 I. Kramnick, *ibid.*, p. 253.
- 147 John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon quoted in W. D. Rubinstein, *op. cit.*, p. 354.
- 148 W. D. Rubinstein, *ibid.*, p. 355. Cf. too A. Quinton, *The Politics of Imperfection: the Religious and Secular Traditions of Conservative Thought in England from Hooker to Oakeshott* (1978), p. 44.
- 149 Cf. N. Roe, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
- 150 W. Wordsworth, 'Imitation of Juvenal – Satire VIII' (comp. 1795–6), ll. 156–62 in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 146.
- 151 *An Historical Essay on the Constitution of England* (1771) quoted in Christopher Hill, 'The Norman Yoke' (1954), p. 43. It is worth noting that Bolingbroke was also one of the ablest defenders of the Englishman's 'spirit of liberty'. According to Hugh MacDougall, he 'skilfully used what can only be called a Whig interpretation of history to attack the policy of Robert Walpole'. Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke, quoted and discussed in Hugh A. MacDougall, *Racial Myth in English History* (1982), pp. 79–80.
- 152 C. Hill, *ibid.*, p. 43.
- 153 Dr Robert Brady paraphrased by Isaac Kramnick in *op. cit.*, p. 128. The reader, however, is referred back to Sir Charles Elton's views of the feudal system of government as a legal fiction and the actual growth of land-tenures in the countryside, especially in the Lake Counties of England, from comparatively free Anglo-Saxon and Danish communities. See Chapter 2. Cf. also S. B. Chrimes, *English Constitutional History*, 4th edn (1967), p. 75 ff, and H. Butterfield, *The Englishman and his History* (1945), pp. 75–7.
- 154 Cf. H. A. MacDougall, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
- 155 *Ibid.*, p. 127.
- 156 Dr Robert Brady paraphrased by Isaac Kramnick in *op. cit.*, p. 128.
- 157 C. Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–4. The *Essay* was quoted *verbatim* in the address which Cartwright drafted for the said Society.
- 158 *Ibid.*, p. 44 incl. n. 3.
- 159 Thomas Paine quoted in Christopher Hill, *ibid.*, pp. 46–7.
- 160 *Ibid.*, pp. 46–7.
- 161 William Wordsworth to William Mathews, letter dated 8 June 1794, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1 (1787–1805), pp. 123–4.
- 162 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 124–5. The reader, however, is reminded that Cobbett was a very strong supporter of the Pitt government throughout the 1790s. Cf. too William Wordsworth to William Mathews, letter dated 23 May 1794, in E. De Selincourt, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 119.
- 163 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 125.
- 164 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 124; and William Wordsworth to William Mathews, letters

- dated c. 24 December 1794 and 7 January 1795, in E. De Selincourt, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 137.
- 165 Cf. the interesting remarks by Jacob Bronowski and Bruce Mazlish on the democratic tone and direct style of Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine and their relevance to the American War of Independence. J. Bronowski and B. Mazlish, *The Western Intellectual Tradition: from Leonardo to Hegel* (New York and Evanston: Harper and Row Publishers, 1962), pp. 376–9.
- 166 W. Wordsworth, 'Advertisement' prefixed to the first edition of 'Guilt and Sorrow', (pub. in 1842) in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 119.
- 167 W. Wordsworth, 'Guilt and Sorrow; or Incidents upon Salisbury Plain' (comp. by late May 1794; pub. 1842) in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 1: Stanzas VI–VII, pp. 120–1; LXVI–LXVII, pp. 138–9; cf. XXXI, p. 128 and XXXIV, pp. 128–9.
- 168 *Ibid.*, Stanzas IV–VI, pp. 119–20. And *idem*, 'A Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff' (1793) in J. O. Hayden, *William Wordsworth. Selected Prose* (1988), pp. 152 and 157.
- 169 *Ibid.*, Stanzas XXX–XXXI, p. 128.
- 170 *Ibid.*, Stanzas XXXI, p. 128; LII–LVII, pp. 134–6; cf. XLVIII, p. 133. This idea was most powerfully expressed in the early drafts of 'Margaret'.
- 171 See Chapters 1 and 3 for further details.
- 172 W. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, III. I. 58–60.
- 173 G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the 19th Century and After (1782–1919)*, 2nd edn (1937), pp. 90–1.
- 174 E. P. Thompson, 'Disenchantment or Default? A Lay Sermon', in C. C. O'Brien and W. D. Vanech, *loc. cit.*, pp. 149–81. Thompson's time-frame for Wordsworth is difficult to determine precisely. He implies that the poet was 'disenchanted' with radical politics in the years 1794–1805, but kept his faith in the 'humanist' values and ideas of the French Revolution. Thereafter he drifted more quickly to the 'apostasy' of the tory paternalist as expressed in the 'good views' of *The Excursion*, published in 1814. (Cf. too *idem*, 'Hunting the Jacobin Fox', *PP*, 142, Feb. (1994), pp. 94–140.)
- 175 *Ibid.*, pp. 152–3.
- 176 *Ibid.*, pp. 150 and 171–2. See too W. Wordsworth, *The Prelude (Text of 1805)*, Bk 2, ll. 448–62, p. 32.
- 177 W. Wordsworth, 'Home at Grasmere' (1806), ll. 612–24, in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 713–14.
- 178 W. Wordsworth, *The Excursion*, Bk 6, ll. 1–16 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 186.
- 179 H. Perkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 179–81 re. urbanisation; 188–9 re. reluctance of the 'lower orders' to reject old paternal relationships and codes; and 271–3 re. the imposition of the new middle class ideal upon the rest of society. On the one hand, Perkin argues that 'urbanisation was, in part the link between industrialism and class' – though he distinguished between the traditional towns of the old kind where paternal relationships and discipline were still comparatively common and effective and the large industrial towns where they were not. On the other hand, he shows that the 'mid-wife of class' was sectarian dissent in the nation's new towns and cities: his statistical tables show two trends, namely, 'the larger the town the smaller the proportion of the population attending any place of worship'; and, 'the larger the town, with the exception of London, the smaller the proportion of Anglican to all attenders' (*ibid.*, p. 200; cf. pp. 196–208). For

- his part, J. C. D. Clark does not see industrial and urban growth as responsible, in itself, for 'a rejection of Anglican doctrine by the labouring population' in the period 1800–1832: 'What changed was not the theoretical validity or potential success of Anglicanism in an urban or industrial society, but the emergence of that society very largely beyond the pale of the traditional Anglican parochial structure. First, new industrial centres were very often located in places which had never been within the nexus of squire and parson, and the Church did not act swiftly to extend her parochial ministrations to such areas. Secondly, English society in the early nineteenth century experienced unprecedentedly rapid demographic change'. J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1688–1832* (1985), pp. 372–3 and 375; and E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution 1789–1848* (1962), Ch. 12, pp. 258–64.
- 180 E. P. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 175–6.
- 181 *Ibid.*, p. 176.
- 182 W. Wordsworth, 'Lowther! in thy majestic Pile are seen' (comp. 1833; pub. 1835), ll. 1–8, in J. O. Hayden, *The Poems*, Vol. 2, pp. 769–70.
- 183 W. Wordsworth, *ibid.*, ll. 9–11 in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 769–70.
- 184 How else can we explain the famous visit to Rydal Mount by the Chartist, Thomas Cooper, in September, 1846?

Nothing struck me so much in Wordsworth's conversation as his remark concerning Chartism – after the subject of my imprisonment had been touched upon. 'You were right', he said; 'I have always said the people were right in what they asked; but you went the wrong way to get it.' I almost doubted my ears – being in the presence of the 'Tory' Wordsworth. He read the inquiring expression of my look in a moment, – and immediately repeated what he had said. 'You were quite right: there is nothing unreasonable in your Charter: it is the foolish attempt at physical force for which many of you have been blameable.'

T. Cooper, *The Life of Thomas Cooper. Written by Himself* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1872), p. 290.

- 185 W. Wordsworth, 'Two Addresses to the Freeholders of Westmorland' (1818) in W. J. B. Owen and J. W. Smyser, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 152–204. (The quotations are taken from p. 160 of the said text; and l. 14 of the tory sonnet, 'Blest Statesman He, whose Mind's unselfish will' (1838) in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 819.)
- 186 Thus his 'Two Addresses to the Freeholders of Westmorland' (1818) which defend the Lowther candidates and interest in Westmorland make better reading today than his several sonnets on the family and their affairs such as 'TO THE EARL OF LONSDALE' (comp. 1833; pub. 1835) in J. O. Hayden, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 770. Re. the strengths and weaknesses of Wordsworth's 'ethical', or 'scientific', system in poetry, see: M. Arnold, *Essays in Criticism: Second Series* (1888), pp. 148–53 esp. pp. 152–3. Re. the political bases of newspapers in the Lake District see: C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *A Short Economic and Social History of the Lake Counties 1500–1830* (1961), p. 208.
- 187 M. Weber, 'The Sociology of Charismatic Authority' (1948), p. 248.
- 188 See the typical accounts of Wordsworth's development given by V. G. Kiernan, in 'Wordsworth and the People' (1956; 1973), pp. 161–206; and J. Lucas,

- in *England and Englishness* (1990), pp. 89–118. Even E. P. Thompson subscribed in a great measure to this view in ‘Disenchantment of Default? A Lay Sermon’ (1969), pp. 176–81 and ‘Hunting the Jacobin Fox’ (1994), pp. 128–39.
- 189 These facts are well known and can be found in any biography. The best accounts, however, are given by Mary Moorman and Stephen Gill in their respective volumes.
- 190 Dorothy Wordsworth to William Wordsworth, letter dated 31 March 1808, in E. De Selincourt, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 2, Pt i (1806–1811), p. 207.
- 191 Cf. S. Gill, *op. cit.*, pp. 367–8.
- 192 Hartley Coleridge quoted in Stephen Gill, *ibid.*, p. 351.
- 193 Cf. S. Gill, *ibid.*, pp. 343–4. Although he mainly wrote ‘Petrarchan’ sonnets, his ‘Republican’ sympathies and regional interests often found expression in Miltonic ones: see the brief but interesting paper by Jonathan Bate, called *Romantic Regionalism, Romantic Nationalism* (The Centre for British Studies, Occasional Papers, No. 2: The University of Adelaide, 1994).
- 194 William Wordsworth quoted in Stephen Gill, *ibid.*, p. 344.
- 195 Cf. T. S. Eliot, *The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism* (1964), p. 72.
- 196 William Wordsworth quoted in Jared Curtis, *op. cit.*, p. 42. Cf. Basil Willey, ‘On Wordsworth and the Locke Tradition’, in M. A. Abrams (ed.), *English Romantic Poets. Modern Essays in Criticism*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 112–22.
- 197 W. Wordsworth, ‘Preface to’ the *Lyrical Ballad* (1800/2) in J. O. Hayden, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 869 and 876, and cf. pp. 892–3.
- 198 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 869.

Appendix II Wordsworth and ‘the vices of an archaic tenurial law’: a Rebuttal of Criticisms by V. G. Kiernan

- 1 V. G. Kiernan, ‘Wordsworth and the People’ (1956/1973), pp. 182–3.
- 2 Cf. C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *A Short Economic and Social History of the Lake Counties* (1961), p. 201. We might here recall the case of the Park Family of Rydal. ‘George Park did not come into his inheritance until either 1759 or 1760, when he was admitted to it on paying a Fine of L.5. 16s. 8d., Lord’s Rent, Fines being much higher in the Manor of Rydal [in Westmorland] than in the manor of Hawkshead [in Furness]’. T. W. Thompson, *Wordsworth’s Hawkshead* (1970), p. 202. J. Nicolson and R. Burn define a customary fine as equal to ‘the value of one year’s rent’, besides the usual rent for that year. See J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland* (1777), Vol. 2, p. 185. Thus different fines were still paid according to the customary rent. For example, a 10d fine certain required the customary tenant to pay 10d per penny of his customary rent; and a 20d fine, 20d per penny of rent and so on.
- 3 For his part, John Stuart Mill thought that the statesmen’s ‘customary dues, . . . being fixed, no more affect their character of [small independent] proprietor, than the land-tax does’. J. S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy* [1848] (1929), p. 257.
- 4 Cf. W. Hutchinson, *The History of the County of Cumberland* (1794), Vol. 1, pp. 39, 163, and 577–8; J. Bailey and G. Culley, *General View of the Agricul-*

- ture of the County of Cumberland (1794), p. 11; and J. Housman, *A Topographical Description of Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and a Part of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (1800), pp. 64–5.
- 5 Isaac Gilpin quoted in Annette Bagot, 'Mr Gilpin and Manorial Customs', *CW2*, 62 (1962), p. 228. Bagot dates the MS between 1650 and 1660, *ibid.*, p. 224. Cf. too W. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 38–9 and 53 ff.
 - 6 Cf. A. Bagot, *ibid.*, p. 229. J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 26.
 - 7 W. Hutchinson, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 446 (re. Great Dalston); and J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 135 (re. Caldbeck), p. 459 (re. Scaleby), p. 361 (re. Graystoke), and p. 462 (re. Kirkclinton).
 - 8 The evidence for this statement is implicit in the third point.
 - 9 Robert Snoden [= Snowden] quoted in C. M. L. Bouch, *op. cit.*, p. 249. For examples of famous court cases between tenants and landlords see: J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 306–8 re. the trial at bar between Sackville Tufton (7th Earl of Thanet) and his Westmorland tenants – over the fines imposed after the 6th Earl's death.
 - 10 Cf. J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 17 (re. 7 Eliz. I), p. 383 (re. 16 Eliz. I), and pp. 616–17 (re. 44 Eliz. I); T. West, *The Antiquities of Furness*, 2nd edn (1805), p. 194 (re. 25 Eliz. I); and W. Parson and W. White, *Directory* (1829), p. 594 (re. Lowther Parish).
 - 11 J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 51–2 (re. the Prince of Wales); and W. Parson and W. White, *op. cit.*, pp. 493–4 (re. the Earl of Annandale).
 - 12 W. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 123 (re. parish of Brampton); J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 494 (re. parish of Cumwhitton), p. 93 (re. John, Lord Ashburnham and the tenants of Martindale).
 - 13 See the following examples taken from J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *ibid.*, Vol. 2: the parish of Croglin was held by the Provost and Scholars of Queen's College, Oxford (p. 435); Little Salkeld, in the parish of Addingham (p. 449) and a manor in the parish of Sebraham (p. 325) were held by the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle (p. 449); but the tenants of the forfeited Derwentwater estates paid 'fines on the death of the king, as if he were a private person' (p. 79).
 - 14 Cf. the remarks above re. the right of commonage in Westmorland.
 - 15 Cf. the case of the tenants in the Manor of Corby, who were enfranchised, in the early nineteenth century, but whose boon days and services 'had long been discontinued'. ([–]. Mannix and [–]. Whellan, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Cumberland* (Beverley, 1847), pp. 215–16.) This is important to note, because readers of William Hutchinson's account of the same manor would have been struck by the detailed list of 'feudal' constraints upon the said tenants. (W. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 163.)
 - 16 Cf. for example, the fate of the tenants of the forfeited Derwentwater estates already mentioned.

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Index

- Advice to Young Men* (1829), 103
agriculture: see Old Lakeland and enclosure
A Guide Through the District of the Lakes (1835), 3–4, 36, 48, 61
Aikin, Arthur, 172
Akenside, Mark, 181
'A Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff' (comp. 1793), 188–9
Alfoxden, 96, 171, 175, 195
Alfred the Great and the Saxons' 'Free Constitution', 2, 119, 186
alienation, 77
Ambleside, 66, 117
Amiens, Peace of, 85
Anderson, Robert, 28
Anglican political theology, 19, 118–27, 150 ff., 181, 191 ff.
Anglican schools, catechism and creed, 98
Anglo-Saxons, 2, 55, *passim*
Annales, 59
Annual Review, 172
Antiquities of Furness (1805), 59–60
Appleby, 73, 84
Applethwaite, 47, 175
Aries, Philippe: history of childhood, class relations and *sentiment de l'enfance*, 6, 143–54
aristocratic code, 179–80
Arnold, Matthew, 6
Art and the Industrial Revolution (1968), 17
Aspatria, 30

Bailey, John, 24, 42, 51
Baring, Alexander, 115
Baring, Sir Thomas, 115
Bateman, John, 40–1
Bath, 87
Beattie, James, 148, 181
Beaumont, Sir George and Lady, 41, 47, 76, 85, 155, 175
Beaupuy, Michel, 180
Becker, A. L., 25

Beckett, J. V., 5, 27 ff., 37, 48, 70
Bell, Andrew, 98
Bentham, Jeremy, 86
Bewick, Thomas, 28
Birkett, 'Dame' Ann, 91
Birmingham, 106
Black, 'Doctor' John, 111
Blackstone, Judge William, 54–5
Bland family, 11
Bloch, Marc, 59, 61
Blois, 170
Bloom, Harold, 17
body-snatching, 80
Bognor, 87
Boke of Recorde of the Burgh of Kirkby Kendal, The (1575), 73
Bolingbroke, Lord, 182, 184 ff.
Bonaparte: see Napoleon
Border tenant right: origins; rights and duties; difference to copyhold; reduction to customary estate of inheritance and copyhold, 3–4, 54 ff., *passim*
Bouch, Canon C. M. L., 22, 23, 30, 37, 40, 44–5, 46 ff., 56
Bowman, Thomas, 148–9
Brady, Robert, 186
Brampton Parish, 60
Brewer, John, 180, 181
Brighton, 87
Brinton, Crane, 131, 140
Bristol, 52, 106
Broad How, 175
'Brothers, The' (1800), 6, 35, 36 192
Brougham, Henry, 98, 106, 111, 119, 154
Brown, Doctor John, 58
Brundage, Anthony, 114 ff.
Burdett, Sir Francis, 76, 80
Burgh by Sands, 54
Burke, Edmund: views of original sin; society as a corporation; relationship of state to society; patrician culture; prescriptive rights; problems of abstract

- theory and reason in politics;
defence of chivalry, 7–8, 128–41, 191
- Burn, Richard, 58 ff., 62–3, 69
- Burns, Robert, 91, 148
- Calhoun, C. J., 84
- Calvert (junior), Raisley, 170, 173
- Calvert (senior), Raisley, 170
- Calvert, William, 170
- Cambridge, 31
- Cambridge University: reading,
examination and honours system;
social and economic status of
students; political commitments
of staff and students, 2, 155,
157–75, 181–3
- Carlisle, 55, 57, 73, 75
- Carlisle Patriot* (1815), 194
- Carlyon, Clement, 159
- Cartwright, Major John, 185 ff.
- Catholic emancipation 122–7
- Catholic England, 122–7
- Cato's Letters* (1724), 184
- 'Celandine, The Small' (1807), 172
- Centuries of Childhood* (1962), 143
- Charles, Prince of Wales [= Charles
I], 56–7
- Charles II, 150
- Chartism, 5, 194
- 'Chatsworth! Thy stately mansion,
and the pride' (comp. 1830, pub.
1835), 46
- Cheltenham, 87
- Chester, diocese of, 64
- Christian, Edward, 149
- 'Church-and-King' mobs, 81
- Church and State hegemony: see
Anglican political theology
- Clapham, Sir John, 43–4, 153–4
- Clark, J. C. D., 7, 15, 19–20, 114,
118, 126–7, 150–1, 179–80, 192ff.
- Clarke, John, 181
- Clarkson, Thomas, 76
- clergy: role in rural society, livings,
absenteeism, 63 ff., 173
- Cobban, Alfred, 90, 128, 131
- Cobbett, William
biographical details are discussed
under the heads (or themes) to
Chapter 3
- object of comparison for
Wordsworth's anti-modernist
views and activities, 7–9, 68–9,
183–9
- populist beliefs, incl. critique of
Old Corruption and 'the
THING' that was crippling Old
England, 84 ff., 111–12, 123,
185–9
- Cockermouth, 29, 47, 62, 72, 145
- Coke, Edmund, 3
- 'Coketown', 77
- Cole, G. D. H., 95
- Coleorton Hall (Leicestershire), 175
- Coleridge, Hartley, 196
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 17, 52–3,
84, 120–1, 125, 126, 132, 139,
171, 172, 182–3
- Collingwood, R. G., 79 ff.
- Colthouse, 91
- Combination Acts*, 109
- Committee of Public Safety, 130
- Common Sense* (1776), 183, 186
- Commonwealthman tradition, 181
ff., 184 ff.
- Convention of Cintra, The* (1809),
130–1
- Cookson (mother), Ann: see Ann
Wordsworth
- Cookson *née* Crackanthorpe
(grandmother), Dorothy, 10,
145–6, 178
- Cookson *née* Cowper, Dorothy: see
Dorothy Cowper
- Cookson (later Cookson-
Crackanthorpe) (uncle),
Christopher, 10, 145–6, 161, 178
- Cookson (grandfather), William,
145–6, 178
- Cookson (uncle), Rev. William, 10,
103, 157, 160, 162, 169
- copyhold tenure: see Border tenant right
cornage rent (= *noutgeld*), 54
- Craftsman, The*, 184
- Craik, Rev. John, 65
- crime rates, 32–3
- Culley, George, 24, 42, 51
- 'cultural despair', 18
- customary estate of inheritance: see
Border tenant right

- 'Daisy, The' (1807), 172
 Danes, 55
Das Kapital (1867), 112
 Davies, Hunter, 144–5, 177
 Defoe, Daniel, 74
 demography, 106, and Chapter
 5 – note 179
 Denton, Rev. Thomas, 153
 Derwent, 145
 'Deserted Village, The' (1770), 28
 Dicey, A. V., 9, 90
 Directorate, 132
Directory (1829), 12, 37, 40, 73
 domestic industry: see Old Lakeland
 Dove Cottage, Grasmere, 67
 Dublin, 19
 Dyhouse, C. A., 40, 116
- Ecclesiastical Sonnets* (1822), 196
 Edinburgh, 19
Edinburgh Review, The, 17, 111, 172
*Edmund Burke and the Revolt Against
 the Eighteenth Century* (1929), 128
 education, 97 ff.
 Education Act, 104
 Edward VI, 124
 Eldon, Lord, 126
 'Elegiac Stanzas' (1807), 172
 Eliot, Thomas Stearns, 196
 Elizabeth I, 124, 182
 Ellenborough, Lord, 55–4
 Ellis, Henry Havelock, 177
 Elyot, Sir Thomas, 182
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 36
Emile (1762), 145
 enclosure: Acts of Parliament, pace
 and extent of change, 41–6,
 70–2
English Family 1450–1770 (1984), 144
English Traits (1856), 36
 estatesman: see statesman
 Eton, 160
 Evans, E. J., 29, 70
Excursion, The (1814), 18, 58, 66,
 81–2, 108, 124, 130, 164, 191–2,
 196
- 'Factories Inquiry Commission . . .
 Employment of Children in
 Factories' (1833), 209
- factory system of production
 (textiles): hours and conditions;
 child labour; women; relations
 between workers and bosses, 107–12
 fallibility: doctrine of, 7, 131 ff., 141 ff.
 family life and relationships: see Old
 Lakeland
 Farnham, 69, 74, 95
 Fawcett, Joseph, 76
 Fenwick, Isabella, 197
 Fenwick, Thomas, 60
 fines: definition of: see Appendix II
 Fisher, John, 48
 Fleet Street, 76
 Fleming family, 66
 Flodden Field, 57
 Forncett, 10, 170
 Fox, Charles James, 4
 free-born Englishman, 1–2, 57–8,
 103, 109
 French Revolution, 130–1, 169–70
 Freud, Sigmund, 13, 176 ff.
 Frewen, Edward, 155
 Friedman, Michael H., 143, 146, 155,
 161, 173, 176 ff.
 Frost, Robert, 102, 136
 Furness: domestic industry and
 by-employments of, 29–30
- Garnett, Frank W., 40
 General Enclosure Act (1801): see
 enclosure
 genetic fallacy, 14
Gentlemen's Magazine (1766), 40
 gentry estates: size of and residence
 upon, 31 ff.
 George III, 180
 George, M. Dorothy, 1, 6, 75, 151
 Gibson, Alexander Craig, 5, 64–5
 Gill, Stephen, 147, 177
 Gillbanks, Rev. Joseph, 91
 Gilpin, William, 58
 Golden Age theories: definition of,
 1–20
 Goldsmith, Oliver, 28, 148
 Gordon, Thomas, 184
 Gosforth, 152
 Gothic England, 122–7; see also
 Catholic England; Norman yoke;
 organic society

- Grasmere, 32, 66–7, 175, 194
Grasmere Journals, The, 106
 Grasmere parish, 105
 Gratien, Balthazar, 143
 Gray's Inn, London, 11, 76, 170
 Gray, Thomas, 66–7
 Great Reform Bill (1832), 139
 Green, George and Sarah, 34, 39
 Greenwood, Rev. Robert, 24–5, 39
 Guildford, 2nd Earl of [= Frederick North], 25
 'Guilt and Sorrow; or Incidents upon Salisbury Plain' (pub. 1842), 188–9
 Gunning, Henry, 162, 182
- Halevy, Elie, 126, 161
 Hamilton, Sir William Rowan, 138
 Hammond, B. and J. L., 5, 42, 77
 Hardy, Thomas, 187
 Harrington, James, 182
 Harrison, John, 92
 Hawkhead, 29, 78, 82–3, 104, 166
 Hawkhead Grammar School, 2, 91, 105, 146, 148–9, 155, 157
 Hay, Douglas, 117–18
 Hazlitt, William, 164
 Henry VIII, 57, 123, 124
heriot, definition of: see Appendix II
 Hill, Christopher, 1–3
Historical Essay on the English Constitution (1771), 186
History of the County of Cumberland (1794), 152; see also William Hutchinson
History of the Protestant Reformation Part II (1827), 126
 Hobart, Justice, 56
 Hobsbawm, E. J., 13
 Hodgson, John, 92
 Hofstadter, Richard, 88
 Holland, Lord and Lady, 76
 Holm Cultram, 56
 'Home at Grasmere' (1806), 67, 78, 191, 197
 Honiton, Borough of, 76
 Hooker, Edward Niles, 183–4
 Hooker, Richard, 128
 Houlbrooke, R. A., 6, 144, 152
 Housman, John, 21, 32, 50, 57, 58, 65, 67, 72, 100, 152
- Huskisson, William, 111
 Hutchinson, Mary, 91, 195; see Mary Wordsworth
 Hutchinson, William, 22–3, 25, 32, 47, 57, 58, 62, 153
- 'Imitation of Juvenal – Satire VIII' (comp. 1796), 88, 188
 Ingleton, Yorkshire, 24–5
 Irish Association 122
 Irish question: the Roman Catholic Church and Irish nationalism, 122–7
 Irving, Washington, 78
- Jacobins, 121, 130, 187
 James I, 56–7
 James IV, 57
 Jeffrey, Francis, 172
 Jews, 88 ff.
 Johnson, Joseph, 76, 170, 185
 Johnson, Doctor Samuel, 76
 Jones, G. P., 25, 30, 37, 40, 46
 Jones, Rev. Robert, 169
 Jonson, Ben, 67
 Joyce, Patrick, 19, 107
 Juvenal, 88
- Kendal, 47, 62, 70, 73, 92, 116
 'Kendal cottons', 48
 Kendale, barony of, 23, 56
Kendal Gazette (1818), 194
 Kentmere, manor of, 60
 Keswick, 29, 47, 62, 68, 72 ff.
 Kiernan, Victor Gordon, 16, 155, and Appendix II
 Kirkby Lonsdale, 37, 70
 Klingender, Francis D., 17–18, 112, 140
 Kramnick, Isaac, 181 ff.
- Lamb, Charles, 78, 151
 Lamb, Mary, 151
 Landed Qualification Bill of 1711, 182
 Langhorne, John, 148
 Langton, John, 182
 Law, Edmund, 159, 181–2
Lay of the Last Minstrel, The (1805), 172

- Letter Concerning the Civil Principles of Roman Catholics* (1780), 127
- Letters of the Bath and West of England Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture, Etc.*, Vols 6 (1792) and 7 (1795), 52
- Lincoln's Inn, London, 76
- Linebaugh, Peter, 80
- Liverpool, 106
- Llandaff, Bishop of: see Richard Watson
- Lloyd, Charles, 12
- Lloyd, Priscilla, 20
- Locke, John, 113
- London, 19, 76 ff., 85 ff., 106
- Longman, Thomas Norton, 172
- Long Revolution, The* (1961), 160
- Lonsdale (2nd creation), Lord: see Sir William Lowther
- lost rights, 2–3; see also Norman yoke
- Lowther debt, 176 ff.
- Lowther (Viscount Lowther), Henry, 13
- Lowther, Sir James, 11, 13, 84, 155, 176–80
- Lowther family of Swillington, Yorkshire, 11
- Lowther family of Westmorland, 11
- Lowther, Sir William: 13, 41, 76, 119, 155, 175, 195–6
- Lucas, John, 16, 165
- Lyrical Ballads* (1801), 4, 105, 135–6, 142, 172, 197
- Lyttleton, George, 184
- Macauley, Thomas B., 63, 106
- MacDougall, H. A., 2
- MacFarlane, Alan, 37 ff.
- Magna Carta (1215), 186
- Malthus, Rev. Thomas, 110–11, 182
- Manchester, 106, 107
- Mannix, [–], 23, 53
- Mantoux, Paul, 5, 26
- Margate, 87
- Marmion* (1808), 172
- Marshall, Alfred, 18
- Marshall, J. D., 5, 21 ff., 29, 40, 45, 50, 116
- Marx, Karl, 13, 112
- Marxist criticism, 16, 155–7
- Mathews, William, 187
- Mayer, A. J., 7, 19, 126
- Melville, Herman, 76, 132
- Merry Old England, 117
- 'Michael' (1800), 6, 36, 99
- Middlesex, 31, 80
- Mill, J. S., 5
- Milton, John, 146
- Modern Education* (English tr. 1932), 177
- Molesworth, Robert, 181–2
- Montagu, Basil, 76, 171, 182
- Moore, David, 93
- Moorman, Mary, 20, 171
- Moral and Political Philosophy* (1785), 179
- More, Hannah, 103
- Morning Chronicle*, 111, 172
- Morris, William, 103
- Morvill, Johanna De, 54
- Moses, Robert, 73
- Moss-troopers, 3, 58
- Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmorland* (1786)
- Moyle, Walter, 182
- Mumford, Lewis, 87
- Myers née Wordsworth, Ann, 12
- Myers, John, 12
- Myers (Junior), Thomas, 12
- Myers (Senior), Rev. Thomas, 12
- Nabholtz, J. R., 58 ff.
- Napoleon, 130 ff.
- National Convention, 130
- national debt, 126, 184, 188
- natural authority and hierarchy, 114, 150–1
- natural man, 128, 131, 136, 196
- Nether Stowey, 52, 171, 195
- Newbiggin Hall [= Newbiggen Hall], Westmorland, 178
- Newcastle, Lord, 126
- New Domesday*, 40
- Newton, Sir Isaac, 181
- Nicholson, Samuel, 185
- Nicolson, Bishop, 63
- Nicolson, Joseph, 58 ff., 62–3, 69
- noblesse oblige*, 1, 114, 119–20
- Norfolk [= Charles Howard], 11th Duke of, 10, 170

- Norman yoke, the, 1–3, 109, 185 ff.
 Norwich, 106
- Oakeshott, Michael, 140
 O'Connell, Daniel, 122
 O'Connor, Feargus, 5
*Ode to Intimations of Immortality from
 Recollections of Early Childhood*
 (1807) 141–2 172
 'Ode to Lycoris' (1817), 196
 Oedipus complex, 146, 176 ff.
 Old Corruption, 19, 84–9, 183–7
 Old Lakeland
 clergy, 63 ff.
 crime, 32–3
 domestic industry, 29–31
 factory system of production
 (textiles), 46–9
 municipal life, incl. fairs, markets
 and guilds, 72 ff.
 new and old enclosures, 41 ff,
 48–9
 poor relief, 14–15, 33–6, 112–15
 relative decline of small
 landowners, and causes thereof,
 39–41, 41–9
*On the Constitution of Church and
 State* (1830), 120–1
 organic society, 125, 191
 original sin, 132
 Orleans, 170
 Orton parish, 32, 62, 73, 154
 O'Sullivan, N. K., 129, 139
 Otter, William, 182
 Oxford University, 90, 160
 Ovid, 196
- Paine, Thomas, 129, 183–9
 Paley, Rev. William, 159, 179
 Paris, 170
 Park family of the Nab, Rydal, 38 ff.
 parliamentary reform, 118–21, 181–9
 Parson, W., 12, 23, 33, 40, 53
 paternalism, 112–18, 119–20
 patriarchalism, definition of, 149–51;
 see also J. C. D. Clark; Harold
 Perkin
Patriot, The (1792), 186
 Paull, James, 76
 Peabody, Elizabeth Palmer, 147
- peasantry: problem of definition, 5, 27 ff.
 Pennington, Isaac, 160
 Penrith, 29, 72, 104, 145, 178
 Perkin, Harold, 1, 7, 15, 180, 192
Persian Letters, 184
 Perthshire hills, 93
 'Peter Bell' (1st pub. 1819), 91
 Pilemarsh Lodge: see Racedown Lodge
 Peyt, William, 186
 Phillpotts, Bishop Henry, 126
Philosophy of Manufacture, The (1835),
 110
 picturesque tradition, 6, 58 ff.
 Pinchbeck, Ivy, 6
 Pinney, Azariah, 171
 Pinney, John Frederick, 171
 Pinney, John Pretor, 171
 Pitt (the Younger), William, 84, 85,
 184–5
 Plato, 139
 Plumb, J. H., 71
Poems in Two Volumes (1807), 172
Poetry for Children (1809), 151
Politics of Cultural Despair (1961), 18
 Pollard, Jane, 145, 157, 178
 Poole, Thomas, 52, 171
 Poor Law, 33–4, 113–14, 140
 populism: definition of 86 ff., social
 and economic character of, 90 ff.
 post-structural criticism, 155–7
 'Preface to' *Lyrical Ballads* (1800/
 1802), 78 ff., 196
*Prelates and People of the Lake
 Counties* (1948), 22, 49
Prelude, The (Text of 1805), 27, 78,
 79, 91, 135, 142, 158, 167–8,
 177, 190, 192, 197
Principles of a Real Whig (1711), 184
 Pringle, Andrew, 22–3, 24, 42–3, 51
 ff., 53
Privileged Villeinage, 55
 Protestant Reformation, 114, 123 ff.
Pure Villeinage, 54–5
- Quincey née Simpson, Margaret, 38
 Quincey, Thomas de, 38
 Quinton, Anthony, 139 ff.
- Racedown Lodge, 171, 175
 radicalism, 181–9

- Ramsgate, 87
 Rank, Otto, 177
 Ravenstonedale, 62
 Real Whigs, 181–3
Recluse, The (unpub.), 17, 193, 196
 Reign of Terror, 130, 132, 187
 Relph, Rev. Josiah, 153
Republic, The, 139
 ‘Reverie of Poor Susan, The’ (1800), 77
Rights of Man (1791 and 1792), 129, 183, 186–7
 Robert the Bruce, 57
 Robespierre, Maximilien, 130
 Robinson, Henry Crabb, 173
 Robinson, Captain Hugh, 157
 Robinson, John, 11, 12, 13, 162, 168, 169–70
 Robinson, Mary, 11
 Roe, Nicholas, 131
 Rogers, Samuel, 172
 Romanticism, 5–7
 Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 2, 6, 128–30, 133
 Rowlandson, Rev. Edward, 65–6
 Rubinstein, W. D., 7, 18–19, 86, 149, 184 ff.
 Rudé, George, 14
 Ruskin, John, 103
 Rydal, 116
 Rydal Mount, 194
- Saint Bartholomew’s Fair, London, 81 ff.
 St James’s Park, 76
 St John’s College, Cambridge, 10, 182
 Sandys, Edwin, 149
 Schneider, Ben Ross, 157 ff.
 Scott, Sir Walter, 125, 139, 172, 173
 Scottish Rebellions of 1715 and 1745, 58
 Seathwaite, 64
 Sedburgh, 12
 Shakespeare, William, 146
 Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 197
 ‘Simon Lee’ (1798), 96
 Simpson, David, 155, 173
 Simpson family of the Nab, Rydal, 38
 Simpson, Rev. Joseph, 66
- Slater Gilbert, 5
 Smith, Adam, 18, 110, 111
 Smith, Charlotte, 148
Social Contract (1762), 129–31
 Society for Constitutional Information, 185
 Solway Moss, 57
 ‘Sonnets: National Independence and Liberty’ (1802–15), 184–5
 Sotheby, William, 172
 Southey, Robert, 125, 126, 139, 172
 Spenser, Edmund, 146
 ‘Stanzas Suggested in a Steamboat off Saint Bees’ Heads on the Coast of Cumberland’ (comp. 1833), 123–5
 Star Chamber decision: *Crown v. Non-royal Tenants in Barony of Kendale*, 56–7
- statesmen:
 attachment to hereditary farms, 31–3, 36–9
 connection with Anglican Church and old universities, 102–4
 daily life, 29–31
 definition of terms *statesman* and *estatesman*, 1, 3–5, 21–7
 education, reading and oral traditions, 97–107
 independent characters of, 31–3, 67, 82 ff.
 relative drop in numbers during the Industrial Revolution, and causes thereof (esp. patrimonies and decline in domestic spinning), 39 ff. 41–9, cf. 69–72
 social and economic equality of, 31–3, 152 ff.
 see also Border tenant right; domestic industry; enclosure; Old Lakeland
- Steeple Langford, 95
 Stern, Fritz, 18
 Steuart, Sir James, 111
 Stuart, Daniel, 172
 Sutton (Junior), Charles Manners, 12, 158
 Sutton (Senior), Charles Manners, 12
 Swift, Jonathan, 146–7
 Swinburne, Algernon Charles, 197
 Swindon, Wiltshire, 88

- Switzerland, 130–1, 169
- Take Your Choice*, 186
- Tales from Shakespeare* (1807), 151
- Taylor, Rev. William, 148–9
- tenant-right estate: see Border tenant right
- Test and Corporation Acts*, 125
- Thelwall, John, 187
- The Making of the English Working Class*, 1st edn (1963), 42
- The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism* (1964 [1st pub. 1933]), 196
- Thirsk, Joan, 152
- Thompson, E. P., 1, 5, 14, 42, 80, 100, 118, 155, 183 ff., 189 ff.
- Thompson, James, 181
- Thompson, T. W., 24, 38, 92–3
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, 150
- Todd, F. M., 131, 178
- Toland, John, 182
- Tone, Wolfe, 126
- Tooke, John Horne, 186
- 'To Penshurst' (1616), 67
- Trenchard, John, 184
- Trevelyan, G. M., 5, 9, 49, 87, 90 ff.
- Trilling, Lionel, 17
- Tunbridge, 87
- Tweddell, John, 182
- Two Treatises on Government* (1689), 113–14
- Tyburn, London, 80
- Tyson, 'Dame' Ann, 9, 58, 91 ff., 146, 166
- Tyson, Hugh, 9, 91
- Ulverston, 62
- Under-Cragg, 64
- Union of 1801, 123
- Ure, Andrew, 110
- Vallon, Annette, 170
- Van Mildert, Bishop William, 126
- Vaughan, Felix, 182
- The Village Labourer*, 1st edn (1911), 42
- Vindication of Natural Society* (1756), 131
- Virgil, 196
- Walker, Rev. Robert, 63–4
- Wallace, William, 57
- Walpole, Sir Robert, 184
- Watson [= Bishop of Llandaff], Richard, 42, 130, 159
- Watts, J. S., 57
- Wealth of Nations, The* (1776), 110
- Weber, Max, 15–16, 165 ff., 194–8
- Wedgwood (Junior), Josiah, 172
- Wesley, John, 22, 127
- West, Thomas, 58 ff., 62
- Westminster, 76
- Westminster School, 90
- Wey-hill fair, 95
- Whellan, [-], 23, 53
- Whitbread, Samuel, 101
- 'White Doe of Rylstone, The' (pub. 1815), 195
- White, W., 12, 23, 33, 40, 53
- Whitehaven, 72
- whole man, cult of the, 97–107, *cf.* 107–12
- Wilberforce, William, 10, 12, 109, 160
- William the Bastard, 2
- William the Lion, 57
- Williams, Helen Maria, 148
- Williams, John, 155, 181 ff.
- Williams, Raymond, 1, 14, 26, 160–1, 172
- Wilson, John, 105
- Winchester School, 90, 160
- Windermere, 66
- Windsor, 11
- Windy Brow, 53, 170
- Wishert, Thomas, 93
- Wordsworth *née* Cookson (mother), Ann, 10, 11, 144, 146–7, 178
- Wordsworth (aunt), Anne, 12
- Wordsworth (junior) (nephew), Christopher, 25, 142
- Wordsworth (senior) (brother), Christopher, 12, 158, 178
- Wordsworth (sister), Dorothy, 48, 67, 157, 173, 178
- Wordsworth (cousin), Favell, 11
- Wordsworth (cousin), James, 11
- Wordsworth (brother), John, 11–12
- Wordsworth (cousin), John, 11
- Wordsworth (father), John, 11, 146ff., 176

- Wordsworth *née* Hutchinson (wife), Mary, 91, 195
- Wordsworth (brother), Richard, 11, 13, 76, 170, 173
- Wordsworth (cousin), Richard, 11
- Wordsworth (grandfather), Richard, 11
- Wordsworth (uncle), Richard, 11, 12, 157
- Wordsworth (cousin), Robinson, 11
- Wordsworth, William
- agrarian radicalism: *see* populism
 - boyhood, incl. rural education and upbringing, 8–9, 90–7
 - charismatic personality and authority, 15–16, *cf.* Romantic mission; subjectivity
 - Distributor of Stamps for Westmorland, 11, 196
 - genealogy and family background, 10–13
 - Hawkshead Grammar School, 2, 9, *passim*
 - ill-defined status in old landed order, 8, 90–3
 - life-long dependence upon patronage and professional classes, 10, 157 ff.
 - populism and anti-modernist sentiments, 2, 8–9, 16–20, 68–9, 86, 90–7
 - radicalism: extent of, 183–9
 - reading of local history, topography, and national history: *see* Chapter 2, esp. note 39
 - rebellion against patriarchal authority and adoption of a bohemian lifestyle, 15–16, 157–75
 - relative decline as a poet of genius, 16–20, 193–8
 - Romantic mission and artistic revolution 165 ff.
 - routinisation and loss of charismatic authority, 194–8
 - subjectivity, 5–7, 133, 164–8
 - tory politics, ideology and writings: *see* Anglican political ideology
 - views of the factory system of production (textiles), 107 ff.
 - views of old London, 77 ff.
 - views of the statesmen system of farming, incl. notions of ‘disinterested imagination’, ‘social affections’, and folk memories, 4, 31–2, 35–6, 48–9, 82 ff.
 - whig attitudes and ideas: *see* Old Corruption; radicalism
- Wordsworth (son), William ‘Willy’, 13
- Wrangham, Rev. Francis, 98, 103, 104, 182
- Wu, Duncan, 52
- yeomanry:
- definition of, 26–7, 40–1, 48–9
 - numbers in Lake counties, 31
 - paternalism, 152 ff.
 - relative decline in numbers during the Industrial Revolution, 39 ff.
 - size of farms and holdings, 23–4, 30
- Yorkshire, West Riding of, 49
- Young, Arthur, 74